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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association

ESTABLISHED 1843,

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Roman Urn, with Coins; found in Charnwood Forest.

THE JOURNAL

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British Archaeological Association.

APRIL 1851.

ON A ROMAN URN FOUND IN CHARNWOOD FOREST.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER OF THE ASSOCIATION.

In 1835, Thomas Gisborne, esq., M.P. for Derbyshire, disposed of a large tract of wild desert land in Charnwood Forest, called the Tynte, or Tin Meadows, situate twelve miles from Ratæ (Leicester), and in a direct line between that place and Derventio (Little Chester), to certain monks of the Cistercian order, who commenced the establishment of the abbey of St. Bernard. Its foundation was undertaken by the reverend father Odillo Woolfrey, presbyter; father Bernard Palmer, presbyter; brother Luke, brother Xavier, and brother Augustine, lay brethren.

Charnwood comprises a district of about ten miles in breadth and six in width, and anciently formed part of the forest of Arden. It is intersected by a Roman road, or one of British formation afterwards used by the Romans; and at different times various Roman antiquities have been discovered in its locality. There is good ground for believing that Charnwood Forest was well wooded as late as the seventeenth century, and that it contained an abundance of oaks. Since that period, its pristine character has departed; and the late Mr. John Nichols speaks of it as "that wonderful and almost unknown tract of country,

Charnwood Forest".[1] It lies upon the north-west side of the county of Leicestershire, and is near to Loughborough. The royal assent was given, in 1808, to an act of inclosure of it, and the account of claims was signed in 1812.

During 1835 and the succeeding year, the monks dwelt in a miserable and almost roofless house; but contributions coming in, they were enabled to build a monastery and chapel, together with some farm buildings. In 1839, by the munificence of the earl of Shrewsbury, a beautiful monastery was erected under the directions of A. W. Pugin, esq.

Agreeably to the rules of the Cistercian order, the monks observe manual labour, and till the ground with their own hands. The ground around has by their endeavours been brought into a state of excellent cultivation, and this spot is now known by the name of Mount St. Bernard.

At the late congress of the British Archæological Association, held at Manchester, there was kindly sent for exhibition in the temporary museum a broken Roman urn, containing a great number of Roman coins conglomerated together, and covered with the green oxide of copper. The specimen excited much interest, and the possessor of it not having a museum of antiquities, and being desirous that it should be placed where it might prove useful, consented to part with it, and it is now the property of the Association. The accompanying plate 1 (see frontispiece) will give to the reader an accurate and excellent idea of its present condition. The urn was accompanied by the following document, regularly inscribed on vellum:—

"This collection of Roman coins was found on that part of Charnwood Forest which now forms the little estate of Mount St. Bernard, near Loughborough, Leicestershire. The urn and coins were turned out of the ground, and broken by the plough, on the 2nd of June 1840. The place where it lay hid is one of the highest spots in the forest, and commands a very extensive view of the surrounding country.

"The Romans took leave of Britain anno Domini 426, and never returned; this urn, therefore, and its contents must have been buried by the Romans some time previous

[1] West Goscote, 918.

to that epoch, and must have consequently laid on that spot at least 1444 years.

"*Mount St. Bernard, July* 10, 1840.

"B. J. Johnson, Superior.

"Witnesses { W. O. Woolfrey. / J. S. Hawkins.

"We, the undersigned, brother John Patrick M'Danell, one of the lay brothers of the Cistercian order settled at Charnwood Forest, near Loughborough, in the county of Leicester, and William Hickin, of Wightwick, near Loughborough, labourer, and Charles Lott, of the house of the said community at Mount St. Bernard, labourer, do testify that we were present when the urn and ancient coins referred to in the above certificate were discovered, on the 2nd day of June 1840, at a depth of from ten to twelve inches from the surface, on the high lands forming part of the little estate of the superior and community of Mount St. Bernard, near Loughborough, Leicestershire ; — the same having been turned up by the plough on land which has not, to our knowledge or belief, ever been previously under the plough or in a state of cultivation.

"10*th July* 1840.

"John Patrick M'Danell.
William Hickin, ✠ his mark.
Charles Lott.

"Witnesses { George Spencer. / Washington Augustine Carden."

The urn measured at its largest part twenty-two inches in circumference, and weighed twelve pounds. Some of the coins have been cleaned, and are reported as offering specimens of the following—Gallienus, Salonina, Saloninus, Postumus, Victorinus, Marius, Tetricus sen., Tetricus jun., Claudius Gothicus, Quintillus, Aurelianus, and Probus. A particular examination, however, of forty-one of these, enables us to record the following result, ranging from A.D. 254 to 268 :—

Gallienus.—*Four Coins.*

LAETITIA? ..... Laetitia, standing, with her attributes.
DIANAE CONS AVG? .... A stag.
IOVI VLTORI ..... Jupiter, standing, wielding a thunderbolt.
FORTVNA REDVX ..... Fortune, with her attributes, seated.

POSTUMUS.—*Eleven Coins.*

PAX AVG. ..... Peace, holding the hasta and an olive branch.
Idem. ..... Idem. P. in the field.
ORIENS AUG. ..... The Sun rushing to the left, the right hand raised, the left holding a whip.
Idem. ..... Idem.
Idem. ..... Idem.
HERCVLES DEVSONIENSI. Hercules, standing, leaning on his club.
Idem. ..... Hercules holding in his right hand a club, and in his left a bow, and the skin of the Nemæan lion.
Idem. ..... Idem.
FIDES MILITVM ..... A woman holding two standards.
FIDES E(XERCITUM?) .. A woman, seated, holding a patera and a military standard.
IMP····COS..... Victory, standing, holding a long olive branch.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.—*Four Coins.*

PMTRP. COS. PP..... The emperor, standing, holding a javelin and a globe.
AEQVITAS ..... Equity, standing.
Idem. ..... Idem.
PAX·····G ..... Peace, standing.

VICTORINUS.—*Seven Coins.*

SALVS AVG..... Salus feeding a serpent, which she holds over a patera in her left hand.
Idem. ..... Salus feeding a serpent rising from an altar; in her left hand the hasta pura.
PAX AVG. ..... Peace holding the olive branch and the hasta; in the field V and a star.
Idem. ..... Idem.
SPES (AVG.)..... Spes, walking to the left.
FIDES (MILITVM?)..... Helmed figure, standing, with spear and shield.
(ORIENS AVG.?)..... The Sun to the left, his right hand raised, his left holding a whip.

TETRICUS.—*Fifteen Coins.*

COMES. (AVG.)..... Victory, standing, holding a garland and palm branch.
Idem. ..... Idem.
Idem. ..... Idem.
Idem. ..... Idem.

PAX AVG. ..... Peace, standing, with olive branch and hasta.
Idem. ..... Idem.
Idem. ..... Idem.
Idem. ..... Idem.
PROVIDENTIA ..... Providence, with cornucopia on the left arm.
FIDES MILITVM ..... A woman holding two standards.
VICTORIA AVG. ..... Victory, marching, with garland and palm branch.
Idem. ..... Idem.
SALVS ..... Salus feeding a serpent rising from an altar.
LAETITIA AVG. ..... Laetitia, standing.
..... Peace, standing.

ON THE TRACES OF THE ROMANS ALONG THE BANKS OF THE MERSEY.

BY WILLIAM BEAMONT, ESQ., OF WARRINGTON.

A DWELLER on the banks of the Mersey, a stream which has obtained a world-wide celebrity, may naturally feel a curiosity to know something of its former history. He may be pardoned if he feels a partiality to exalt his subject, to dwell upon the traces of its former importance, and to show its connexion with the masters of civilization in the ancient world. He must be careful, however, in all his inquiries, to take truth for his guide; and with this handmaiden to attend him, the pursuit of a favourite subject may be made not only a source of pleasure to himself, but may be a means, even in feeble hands, of adding something to the details of archæology;—for it is by local inquiries, conducted by local inquirers, that the Roman topography of Britain may be best extended and enlarged. It is in this way, by an alchemy which pervades all our pursuits, that objects in their nature selfish are made to contribute to the general good.

My plan in the present paper will be to trace the remains

of the Roman people from the mouth of the Mersey to its source. These remains, faint and fading through the growth of population and civilization, and after the lapse of fifteen hundred years, being thus collected into one view, may serve as materials for some future antiquary to improve; while their contrast with the valley of the Mersey as it now is, may give rise to some useful reflections.

No map of Britain prepared by a Roman hand has descended to our times, or our curiosity and our interest might have been gratified by reading upon it the name of our limitary stream. In such a case, abundance of controversial ink might have been spared, which has been spilt in the contention whether the Mersey was the Belisama of Ptolemy, or whether the Ribble has a better title to that name, or whether, indeed, our own magnificent stream, nameless and inglorious in the Roman times, and wanting any outlet of its own, did not mingle its waters with the ocean through a channel of the river Dee. Dr. Horsley, Dr. Henry, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. West, Mr. Baines, and many others, have maintained the title of the Mersey to be the Belisama: Camden, Dr. Whitaker, and others, assert that the Belisama was the Ribble: while the opinion that the present estuary of the Mersey is modern, and that the river, in the time of Ptolemy, flowed into the sea through the channel of the river Dee, has found a number of zealous and able defenders, who have supported their views by arguments, geological and archæological.

Without stopping to settle this difficult question, which is hardly necessary to our purpose, it is clear, we think, that the present name is of Saxon origin, and was bestowed by that people when they settled the boundaries of the Mercian kingdom, about the year 586 (Turner's *Ang. Sax.* i, 323). Mr. Whitaker, founding his conjecture upon a false reading of the testament of Wulfric, in 1010, which contains the earliest mention of the Mersey, would derive its name from the marshes or marshy meadows which skirt its banks (Baines, *Hist. of Lanc.* iii, 662, *in notis*). Dr. Whitaker, on the other hand (Whalley, 6, *in notis*), would derive the name from Meres-ea—the river fed by meres—with more than twenty of which it has communication, by means of the Weaver flowing through the county of Chester. But our rude Anglo-Saxon forefathers, more

utilitarian than imaginative, had probably in view the uses of the stream as the boundary of one of their kingdoms, and consequently named it the Mersey, from its being the northern limit of the dominion of Mercia; and in this bestowal of a name, they were scarcely open to that charge which has been preferred against their descendants in another hemisphere, of having bestowed upon streams of mighty volume names of trifling import, and but little in accordance with the grandeur of their originals.

But, whatever its ancient name, it is certain that the Roman arms, under the conduct of Agricola, won their conquering way over our border stream in the summer of the year 79 of the Christian era. That great commander had the rare good fortune to have for his biographer the historian Tacitus; and from him we learn that, arriving in this neighbourhood in the above year, his hero, securing his camps and reconnoitring the woods and estuaries in person, scoured the surrounding country by his detachments, in order to guard against any surprise by our brave but uncivilized forefathers.

We learn from the venerable Camden, that there had been dug up in his time on the marshes of Norton, which closely adjoin the broad estuary of our river, not less than twenty pieces of lead, of a square oblong form, and inscribed thus in the hollow of the upper part—IMP. DOMIT. AVG. GER. DE. CEANG.; but in others thus—IMP. VESP. VII. T. IMP. COSS.: which he conjectures to have been trophies raised to commemorate two separate victories gained by the Romans in these parts. Upon these Mr. Whitaker remarks, that the venerable father of British antiquities had not himself seen these pieces of lead, and he has therefore taken pains to correct the reading of the second of the above inscriptions; and if his reading be correct, this inscription probably referred to the original conquest of this part of the country in the above year, by the army under the command of Agricola; and the ceangi of the second inscription were the husbandmen who kept their flocks on the low marshes which bound the Mersey on the Cheshire side of the river. Dr. Stukeley and Mr. Ward, the Gresham professor, differ from Mr. Whitaker as to the original uses of these pieces of lead; but neither they nor any other antiquary have ever doubted that they were of Roman

origin: and this, perhaps, is sufficient for our present purpose, as affording one of the traces we are seeking of the Roman dominion on the banks of the Mersey.

Advancing up the stream from Norton, we reach, at the distance of about five miles, the hamlet of Wilderspool, which is very near to the point where the tide terminates, and almost immediately opposite to Warrington. In this situation, where the broad Mersey, flowing between deep banks, formed a sufficient defence on the north, and where a brook called the Cress-brook, flowing into the river at a right angle, was an additional defence on the west, upon a point of land high above the floodway, and commanding extensive views over some flat meadows towards the north and east, with the further advantage of another stream flowing into the Mersey at a short distance upon that side —in this situation, which possessed so many recommendations for the castrametator, abundance of pure water, a gravelly soil, and great advantages of natural defence, the Romans seem to have planted an important station.

The larger outworks disappeared before the age of living memory, without attracting the regards of any antiquary who has attempted to describe them. A circular mound, six feet high and sixty yards across, and which had possibly been the prætorium, alone remained in the Cress-brook field, until the last thirty years, when it was removed by John Riley, by the orders of the proprietor, and in order to make the field more level. It was found to consist of a layer of hard materials at the bottom, and a mass of sand at the top.

In the year 1801, in the course of making the old quay canal, which passes through the hamlet of Wilderspool, and which is there excavated to a considerable depth, the workmen came upon extensive foundations of buildings, which struck even their unpractised eyes as the work of no modern or native people. Unhappily, no antiquary was then at hand to give a drawing of the buildings, or a circumstantial account of the discoveries. From the accounts of the surviving workmen we learn that the foundations, which were at the depth of a yard and a half below the surface, were of considerable extent, and that some of the stones employed weighed three or four hundred-weights, and had lewis holes on one side. Amongst

the stones were found the bases and capitals of columns, large quantities of red coral-coloured pottery, with raised devices of figures and foliage upon it, broken amphoræ, and vast quantities of pottery of a coarser kind; but all evidently of Roman workmanship. Mixed with the pot tery were fragments of green glass, portions of Roman handmills, formed of the lava from Andernach, which is still used for a like purpose, broken fibulæ, and a variety of other articles of Roman work. The soil, which has been richly sown with these remains, and which even to this hour will reward the search of the curious, had evidently been during many ages the abode of our Roman conquerors. Of coins, the only lettered memorials of the station, great numbers were found and dispersed at the time of the first discovery. A few others, which have been picked up on or near the site of the station, are enumerated in the following list:

1. A silver coin found in the immediate neighbourhood of the station in 1785. Obverse, a head of the emperor: IMP. CÆSAR·DOMIT. AVG.—Reverse, a female figure erect and grasping the hasta pura.
2. A silver coin found in the station in 1801. Obverse, a head of the emperor: IMP. CÆS. NERVA·TRAJAN·AVG. GER.—Reverse, a figure seated in a curule chair: PONT. MAX. COS.
3. A silver coin found near the station in August 1824. Obverse, the emperor's head: IMP. CÆS. NERVA·TRAJAN·AVG. GER.—Reverse, a female figure erect and grasping a hasta pura: P. M. T. R. P. COS.
4. A copper coin of Vespasian found near the station in 1817. Obverse, the emperor's head.—Reverse, a female figure with a cornucopia.
5. A copper coin found near the station in February 1839.
6. A copper coin, probably of Vespasian or Domitian, found at Mersey mills. Obverse, the head of the emperor.—Reverse, a seated figure with a spear: VICTORIA.
7. A copper coin, probably of Trajan, found in the station in 1849, now in the Warrington museum.

From the extent over which the seeds of this buried city are scattered, and which occupies the whole of several fields called the town fields, an area of eight or nine statute acres of land, it is evident that the size of the station must have been considerable; but when or how it was finally abandoned—whether the garrison was silently withdrawn, or was overpowered and driven out in some death-struggle

with our British ancestors (an idea which derives some countenance from the number of human bones found amongst the ruins); what was the name of the station—whether it was the Veratinum of Ravennas, which Mr. Whitaker has placed at Warrington, or the Condate of the tenth iter, as has been contended with much probability by Mr. Robson, are all questions which must remain to exercise the ingenuity, or employ the research, of some future antiquary.

From the station at Wilderspool, a Roman way, eight yards wide, and formed in the most solid manner, by laying on the ground a thick stratum of ashlars, and upon that a bed of gravel eighteen inches thick at the sides, and two feet at the crown, stretched away to the south, and passing in a pretty direct line over Hill cliff, and through the village of Stretton, where its course is betrayed by its name as well as by existing remains, is again plainly discernible near to a place called Kinder's smithy in Antrobus. It seems at this place to be pointing in the direction of Northwich and Kinderton; but no actual traces have been discovered nearer to those places than Antrobus, although the road marked on the old maps as King-street, was probably a continuation of the original Roman way. In the neighbourhood of Wilderspool, portions of the way have been broken up at various times, and its singular compactness and solidity have never failed to excite the admiration of the beholders. The different materials had been so rammed and compacted together, that it was difficult to separate them. Once, when some of the rounded ashlars from the foundation had been piled up to make a wall, it was observed that they were covered in a few days with a slight white incrustation, as if they might have been originally gathered from the bed of a salt stream. If they had been collected from the Mersey at Wilderspool, where such stones abound, the salt tides must have advanced higher at that time than they do at present, when the water of the river is always fresh.

Beside the Roman way, and at no great distance from the station, there have been found at various times urns filled with burnt bones and ashes; and also the skeletons of several bodies, which had been committed to the earth with great care by Roman hands.

The road we have been describing runs parallel to the present highway to Northwich, keeping for the most part fifty or a hundred yards on its west. Within living memory, a portion of the great highway from Liverpool and the north by Warrington and Wilderspool to London, consisted of a deep unpaved track of sand at the latter place, which was proverbially called "the heavy cross", from the toil and labour required to cross it. This trackway was parallel to, and only a few yards to the east of, the road above described.

What charms could this toilsome trackway of sand possess for our ancestors during so many ages? or how can we account for their preferring it to the solid and substantial road which lay only a few yards to the west? We must suppose that in the successive conquests of the Saxons and Normans, this part of the country had become depopulated, and that before the tide of population flowed back, nature had heaped soil and vegetation to some depth over the road, and entirely obliterated its ancient track.

In connexion with the road we have been tracing, there exist remains of another road, on the north side of the Mersey, which can be distinctly traced at intervals from Haydock to Warrington, where it crossed the Mersey to gain the station at Wilderspool. Of this road, which appears to point northerly towards Blackrode, and of which the course may perhaps be thought to be indicated by the discovery of the Trajan coin in the adjoining township of Ashton in the year 1839, the urns which were found at Wigan in September 1848, and the coins which were discovered at Standish (Leigh's *Natural History of Lancashire and Cheshire*, b. iii, p. 81), considerable remains exist in a very perfect state in Haydock park. Mr. Whitaker, who saw and described this road, remarks respecting it (*History of Manchester*, i, 221), that the original road passing from Carlisle to Blackrode (the Coccium of Mr. Whitaker) did not proceed from the latter to Kinderton in a straight direction and the line of the present way, but, turning to the left, rounded by Manchester to it; and such, from the itinerary of Antonine, appears to have been its direction for two ages afterwards. In the fourth century, some time after the date of Antonine's, and before the date of Ravenna's itinerary, the course of the road was changed. As it

circled by Manchester, the distance between Blackrode and Kinderton was about forty measured miles; but if the one was laid directly through Warrington, the other could only be about thirty. Mr. Whitaker's conjecture has derived some confirmation, since he wrote, from the discovery at Ashton near Lancaster, on the course of the Roman road leading south from that place, of a milliarium inscribed to Cæsar Marcus Julius Philippus, the emperor who assumed the purple in 244, and was assassinated five years afterwards. If this date marks the time when the road, of which ours was a continuation, was first laid out, then it is perhaps reasonable to infer that in his celebrated campaign of 79, Agricola forbore to cross the Mersey at Warrington, but prudently advanced along its southern bank, until he had secured the northern frontier of Flavia, and then, and not till then, advanced into Lancashire by way of Stretford and Manchester, and added Maxima to the Roman conquests in Britain. Evidence both of a positive and negative kind is found to favour this idea; for, while we meet with the names Cross-street and Stretford on the line leading from Manchester towards Wilderspool, we look in vain for either the name or the remains of any road on the north side of the Mersey between Manchester and Warrington.

Advancing from Wilderspool along the south bank of the Mersey, we reach, at the end of about four miles, the hamlet of Statham, adjoining the ancient village of Thelwall, where, as the *Saxon Chronicle* informs us, king Edward the Elder, in the year 920, built a fortress, with a view of repressing the inroads of his Northumbrian neighbours. In this hamlet, about the year 1780, as two labourers, Timothy and Peter Knowles, father and son, were at work on the edge of a field near to a piece of old wall, since supposed to be Roman, the spade of the elder workman struck upon some object which sounded hollow. He stooped down to ascertain what it was, and found that he had broken a large earthen jar, which was filled with bright pieces of money. "Down with your spade, my son!" he exclaimed; "no more work, for our fortune is made!" It was an age of superstition; and the father had doubtless heard of uncounted hoards, laid up by fortune or the fairies, to bless with sudden wealth their

favoured votaries. Elated with the idea of gold without digging for it, the two labourers threw down their tools, and busied themselves in removing the vessel, a large Roman olla, and its contents, when the latter were found to consist of more than three hundred Roman copper coins, principally, if not wholly, of the lower empire. As their value in the eyes of the finders depended principally upon their being turned into money current with the merchant, the coins were speedily disposed of, and passed into numerous hands. Of the small number of which any account has been preserved, the following is a list:

1. Obverse, the emperor's head with a diadem, probably Tetricus or Victorinus.—Reverse, a female figure erect and grasping a spear. . . . LAVS. . . .
2. Obverse, the emperor's head with a diadem: VICTORINVS.—Reverse, a female with a cornucopia.
3. Obverse, the emperor's head with a diadem: IMP. CÆSAR·VICTORINVS.—Reverse, a winged figure of Victory: VICTORIA·AVG.
4. Obverse, the emperor's head with a diadem: IMP. TETRICVS.—Reverse, a female figure: LAP. . . AVGG.
5. A repetition of No. 4.
6. Obverse, the emperor's head with a diadem: IMP. C. VICTORINVS.—Reverse, a warrior with his right arm raised.

[*The above six are in the Warrington Museum.*]

7. Pennant, who mentions the discovery of these coins in his tour from Downing to Alston, says that one was of Claudius, *i. e.* Gothicus.
8. Obverse, the emperor's head with a diadem: IMP. C. VICTORINVS·AVG.—Reverse, a female figure, holding in one hand an olive branch, and in the other a spear: PAX. AVG.
9. Obverse, the emperor's head with a diadem: IMP. AVRELIANVS·AVG.—Reverse, FORTVNA·REDVX. Exergue P.
10. Obverse, the emperor's head: IMP. C. VICTORINVS·AVG.—Reverse, a female figure beside an altar: PIETAS·AVG.
11. Obverse, the emperor's head: IMP. C. POSTVMVS·PF. AVG.—Reverse, COS. V.
12. Obverse, the emperor's head: IMP. C. VICTORINVS·AVG.—Reverse, PROVIDENTIA·AVG.
13. Obverse, the emperor's head: VICTORINVS·AVG.—Reverse, a female figure.
14. Obverse, the emperor's head: TETRICVS.
15. Obverse, the emperor's head: IMP. TETRICVS·P. F. AVG.—Reverse, AVGG.
16. Obverse, the emperor's head: S. V. TETRICVS·CÆS.

17. Obverse, . . . ENVS. AVG.—Reverse, PROVID.
18. Obverse, . . . TRICVS. P. F.
19. Obverse, TETRICVS. P. P. AVG.—Reverse, PAX. AVG.
20. Obverse, C. DIVVS. . . . TETRICVS·CÆS.
21. Obverse, VICTORINVS.
22. Effaced.

[*From* 8 *to* 22 *were formerly in Mr. John Booth's possession.*]

The date of all these coins, between the years 250 and 275, affords some slight confirmation of the conjecture we have offered as to the period when the road was formed.

Resuming our course up the stream, we arrive, after another mile, opposite to Risley, a hamlet on the Lancashire side of the Mersey, where, as we learn from Gough's *Camden* (iii, 136), there was found in the year 1734 a brazen metope of an ox, of Roman workmanship. It was found lying on a bed of white sand, under a layer of peat five yards in depth. At no great distance from the same place, there was found, only a few years ago, in the peat, one of those bronze strainers which are figured in the *History of Whalley* (plate 1), and in the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge* ("Pompeii", ii, 312), and which are admitted to be Roman. The Risley example greatly resembled that which is figured in the latter of the above works. At Kenyon, in the same neighbourhood, there was discovered, in the year 1826, a rude urn of sun-baked clay, which contained a quantity of charred bones, and the tongue of a Roman fibula of brass, which, with a portion of the urn and its contents, is now deposited in the Warrington museum.

At Crossford, where we next encounter the stream, the names of the adjoining villages of Cross-street and Stretford are clear indications of their Roman origin. At the former of these places, and on the banks of the Mersey, we are undoubtedly to look for the station of Fines Maximæ et Flaviæ (see Whitaker, *History of Manchester*), and here therefore we might reasonably hope to meet with the Roman name of the limitary stream ; but here also we are equally destined to disappointment, for the stream is again passed in silence, as if the iter were an actor in this conspiracy to baffle our inquiries. In other stations altars have been dug up, or recovered from the neighbouring

stream, which have revealed its name, when all other sources have failed the inquirer.

Population, and its attendant cultivation, have so obliterated all traces of the station at Crossford, that it is not exactly known where either the ford or the station was. It is pretty certain, however, that the latter occupied the Cheshire side of the stream; for, after the Roman dominion in Britain had disappeared for many ages, we find the renowned Black Prince, in the 40th of Edward III, granting his warrant to arrest all persons, who made passage over the river Mersey by boats at Crossferry (*Hist. Chesh.* i, 446), doubtless the same place as Crossford; so that he evidently claimed that ferry as belonging to the county of Chester, which he would hardly have done if the town had not been established on that side the river. From the station at Crossford a way led into the interior of Cheshire, which is traced and described by Mr. Whitaker.

We are now on those confines where a great city

> Calls o'er the stream the admiring south, to see
> The pomp and pride of northern industry!

But although Mancunium stands almost within our view from Crossford, yet, as that station was in a different province and upon a different stream in the Roman age, and is in a different county now, I resist the temptation of crossing the Mersey to visit it, and holding to my original purpose, pursue the course of the river, by Stockport, past its junction with the Goyt, and arrive at length at the Etherow, which is traditionally said to be the Mersey under another name. The sources of many great streams have been hidden in such obscurity, that it has been among the problems of geography to discover them. But the Mersey seems to have been peculiarly unfortunate in the doubt which has been thrown on its two extremities; since antiquaries would have us believe that equal obscurity envelopes both its beginning and its end.

Leaving the church of Mottram, which, placed like a city upon a hill that cannot be hid, stands a conspicuous object of observation for many miles round,—a short green lane leads to a hill-side where there are some rich meadows below, and the gentle stream of the Etherow flowing through the midst of them. Crossing the stream, by a

bridge of arcadian simplicity, which suits the scenery, and ascending a corresponding hill on the Derbyshire side, the traveller comes upon the site of the Roman station of Melandra castle.

Mr. Watson of Stockport, the historian of the house of Warren, the first discoverer of this station in modern times, has left us an account of the visit he paid to it in 1771 (*Archæologia*, iii, 236); and the station has since that time continued to be known by the above name, which, if we are to judge from the sound and construction of the word, may have been its name in Roman times. It is marked by that name upon Mr. Newton's map of Roman Yorkshire, lately prepared for the Archæological Institute.

The once goodly rampart of the station is now sadly fallen from its high estate; but enough still remains to show where the walls have stood, and what have been the shape and extent of the station. Probably, when Mr. Watson drew the plan which is printed with his account, the remains were more extensive than they are now. In form, the station was a parallelogram, with the corners rounded off, and measured one hundred and twelve yards by one hundred and twenty-two; although Mr. Watson's plan does not show the rounding of the corners. On each of the four sides there was a gateway, through which the legions of the ancient mistress of the world once entered or left the station; but of all these legions, the name of a single centurion has alone survived to our times; and of this, even, we are left in doubt as to the true reading of the name. An inscription upon a piece of millstone grit, a material which abounds in this neighbourhood, and which was used extensively in the foundations of the castle field in Manchester (*Whitaker*, i, 65), was dug up near the eastern corner of the station shortly before the time of Mr. Watson's visit, and has served to exercise the ingenuity of antiquaries from that time to the present. The letters[1] are rudely incised or scratched upon the stone, and the whole memorial is altogether worthy of this wild country at the period when it was first erected. According to Mr. Watson's reading, the inscription ran thus: Cohortis Primæ·

[1] The exact age of the inscription may possibly be conjectured from the form of some of the letters, which resemble those on the Gelt rock.—Camden, 835; and in Wellbeloved's Eburacum, 87.

Frisianorum·Centurio Valerius·Vitalis; and in this reading I incline to agree, believing as I do that the stop in the penultimate line is the result of some accident which has happened to the stone since Mr. Watson saw it. An inscription to the memory of Marcus Savo, found many years ago in the castle field at Manchester, and described by Mr. Whitaker (*Hist. Man.* i, 62), mentions the Coho·I. Frisin.; and in another inscription found in the same place, and figured and described in the memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society (v, 534, 675 to 678), we have Cohr. I. FRISIAVO. A third inscription, found near to Knot Mill in 1760, and which has been brought under my notice by the kindness of Mr. Harland, mentions Chor. I. Fris. This inscription is mentioned in Gough's *Camden* (iii, plate VII, fig. 15). The Sydenham tablet of the time of Trajan, probably somewhere about the end of the first century, and which awards rewards to the deserving soldiery, makes express mention of the "prima cohors Frisianonum" as then serving in Britain (*Monumenta Historica*, No. 6). And another notice, for which I am also indebted to the kindness of Mr. Harland, occurs in the Bradfield tablet, found in Yorkshire in 1761, and which calls the Frisin cohort, a veteran cohort. Dr. Henry (*History of Great Britain*, ii, 464), mentions an inscription, though he does not say where it was found, to the cohors prima Fresiorum; and in the *Notitia*, the cohors prima Frixagorum is mentioned as being stationed at Vindobala near the wall, towards the decline of the empire. Sextus Valerius Genialis civis Frisiaus is commemorated in an inscription lately found at Cirencester (*Corinium*, 1850, 114); and in Gruter (D. XXXII, 7), we have a memorial to F. Flavius Verinius natus Frisævone. Dr. Holme,—who contends that the second inscription found in the castle field (*Mem. Lit. et Phil. Soc.* v, 675-678), is meant to record the share which the first cohort of the Frisians had in making the military way, twenty-four miles in length, from Manchester to Condate,—is very zealous to establish the identity of these people with the Frisiavones, or Frisiabones, mentioned by Pliny.

The first time the Frisons are mentioned in history is probably in the pages of Pliny (lib. iv, 15), where he mentions them and the Frisiabones amongst the various

tribes of Germany. The Frisiabones, probably a colony from Germany, are afterwards mentioned amongst the tribes of Gaul (lib. iv, 17). And in a subsequent book (xxv, 3), he tells us a marvellous story of an herb which was a preservative against lightning, and the virtues of which were first revealed to the Romans by the Frisians, who were neighbours to the camp. In the year 70, according to Tacitus, and while Domitian was ruling the empire for his father (*Hist.* iv, 16), the Frisians joined in that irruption of the German nations under Civilis, which spread terror through Rome; and on the only other occasion when he honours them with a notice, he merely describes their seat in his work on Germany (ch. 34, 35). It must have been after the year 70 therefore, and probably it was in the year 79, and as auxiliaries to the 20th legion so long settled at Chester, that the Frisians took a part in the conquest of Britain, and in garrisoning the fortresses of Manchester and Melandra.[1] Not many years ago, a beautiful brass coin of Domitian was found within the latter station. It is probable, I think, that the troops who occupied Melandra were dependent upon Manchester, and were sent from time to time from that place. Under the Roman system of discipline, which admitted of few removals amongst the soldiery, it was almost essential that there should be outposts like Melandra, to which the troops might occasionally be sent, to relieve the irksomeness of one residence and one routine of duty. The soldier who, during the winter months, had been confined to the duties of the garrison at Manchester, would find his nerves braced and his spirits recruited by an exchange of quarters during the summer months from Manchester to Melandra. We find these small forts very frequently in connexion with the larger stations, and in situations where they served the double purpose of an outpost and an occasional place of retreat. One of these occurs on the Toot hill, just above the chapel, in Macclesfield forest, at the distance of six miles from Buxton, with which it seems to have had direct communi

[1] Whit. Man. i, 62; and Mr. Barrit's remarks, Mem. Man. Lit. et Phil. Soc. v, 534. If so, it is not a little singular, that they who had so lately been in open rebellion against the Roman power, should have been so soon converted into active and useful allies. It is possible, however, the Frisians, as well as some others of the German nations, had been enrolled in the Roman army before the outbreak of Civilis.

cation by means of an old road, which betrays its antiquity in the name given to it upon the old maps of Cheshire. The station is nearly a parallelogram, measuring thirty yards by forty-five, except that the figure is a little interfered with by the ground falling away towards the north-west corner. The site commands extensive views in every direction, but towards the great plain of Cheshire, the prospect is grand and imposing. At such an elevation there is a coolness in the hottest weather, and "the heaven's breath smells wooingly there."

The only other inscribed stone which is known to have been found at Melandra was a corner fragment, discovered by captain De Hollingworth, Mr. Dearden, and Mr. Shaw, and on which the only letters remaining were IMP. In removing the soil near to a stone-quarry at Hooley Wood, in Padley, at no great distance from the station, in the year 1838, a great number of coins of billon, or of base silver, were found. The following is a list of a few of them which remain in the possession of William and James Sidebotham, esqrs., of Tintwistle.

1. The emperor's head.—IMP. C. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG. Reverse, a draped figure; the right hand supported by a spear, and the left extended and holding a branch.
2. The emperor's head.—IMP. ALEXANDER PIVS. Reverse, a female figure holding out an olive branch. SPES·PUBLICA.
3. IVLIA·MÆSA·AVG. Reverse, a seated figure with a spear.
4. The emperor's head.—IMP. C. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG. Reverse, a figure with a spear.
5. IVLIA·MÆSA·AVG. Reverse, a female figure with a spear near an altar.—FELICITAS.

In digging the foundations of a factory at Woolley, an ansated vase of red ware was discovered, which was lately in the possession of Mr. Robert Lees.

ON THE COINS OF CUNOBELINE AND OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

PART XI.

BY THE REV. BEALE POSTE, M.A.

ICENIAN COIN INSCRIBED TASCI.

The coins of the Iceni occupy the next place in ancient British numismatics to those of Cunobeline. Though only two of their sovereigns are mentioned in history, Prasutagus and Boadicea, yet they were evidently a state approximating very closely in power to that over which Cunobeline ruled; and, as there is every reason to suppose, the next in civilization. Prasutagus, their sovereign, is recorded by Tacitus (*Annal.* iv, 31) to have collected great wealth, which it is easy for us to imagine might have been the case, admitting the mineral districts of Derbyshire, Cheshire, and North Wales, to have formed part of his dominions. That such was the fact there appears good ground for believing, from several indications, though we may not coincide in all the arguments which the antiquary Baxter in his *Glossary* alleges on this head. That the coins which we call coins of the Iceni were part and parcel of that wealth, there is but little reason to doubt. They are in gold, silver, and brass.

To make short our preamble, the major part of the coins of the Iceni are distinguished by a symbol which has never been found on any other British coins, and which has never been explained. It has somewhat the form of a double lunated shield, but appearances on it resembling fillets and loops forbid any such interpretation. However, its form may be sufficiently seen in the plate at p. 91, vol. iv, of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association;* and the principal point is, that it is a peculiar mark and distinction of these coins when appearing upon them; their silver coins being not yet ever ascertained to be without it. In the present instance we have it on a brass coin. These moneys also are found in those parts of the

kingdom which were formerly the principal seat of the Icenian power; but for this point and various other miscellaneous particulars the reader may be referred to some remarks upon them in the said fourth volume of the *Journal* for 1848, to which attention has been before directed.

The first person who is known with any certainty to have attributed these coins to the Iceni in a printed work, was Gough, the editor of *Camden's Britannia*, who advanced such an opinion; but with him it seems to have rested, from want of further corroboration at the time, or from some other cause. Taylor Combe, the principal numismatist of the day, did not adopt the appropriation, nor did Ruding admit this class of coins into his plates, and thus the discovery seems to have been passed by. Further in result of this disowning or neglect, Mionnet, the celebrated numismatist of France, placed the types of the Iceni among those assigned to that country, interpreting the inscription ECES,[1] which some of these coins bear, as the name of a Gaulish chief, whom accordingly he introduced into his list. However, these misconceptions of a by-gone time are now become too glaring to be entertained; nor is their due appropriation any longer gainsaid.

Having so far introduced the subject by the foregoing remarks, it may be observed, that the type of the Iceni now brought forward performs much service to numismatics by the light it throws on the legend TASCIO, inscribed on British coins, which from the time of Camden downwards has occupied much attention; and indeed has been discussed at length quite lately in the *Revue Numismatique* of France. It is clear now, however the case may have stood before, that this new type leaves it no longer doubtful. There is thus a rather singular interest given to this coin, that though belonging to one coinage, it decides a question in another. This it is enabled to do, as the coinages are cognate, and the languages and customs of the two British states were similar. However, it is time for the type to speak for itself, and some proof to be given that the above observations are well founded. It is as follows:—

In brass. The double lunated unexplained symbol peculiar to the

[1] For the due application of the legend ECES to the Iceni on the known principles of the cognate Gaulish coinage, see Journal, vol. iv, p. 110.

coins of the Iceni. Above it the letters VRE, retrogade; below it three letters, also retrogade; of the middle one uncertain whether it be a C or an S. Accordingly, it would either read IC. R, or IS. R, and taken with the letters above the symbol, would either be VRE IC. R, or VREIS. R, but the latter may be regarded preferable, as the apparent C may easily be no more than the upper part of an S. Also, there being no point after the E, may seem to warrant the junction of the letters as above in one word. Reverse, a horse, unmounted, walking to the left; above it, the legend TASCI, not retrograde. In the collection of C. Roach Smith, esq., and found in Suffolk.

The delineation of the coin as above is from the original, by the kind permission of the proprietor; and it is submitted to those who have paid attention to the subject of British coins, that the inference from this type is self-evident. TASCIO, now it is clear enough, is not a man's name but a title; and consequently all theories of a supposed Tasciovanus, father of Cunobeline, at once fall to the ground; nevertheless it may be right to state briefly the drift and bearing of the argument.

The theory that the legend TASCIO on British coins applied to a supposed person named Tasciovanus, it is well known, was first raised by Mr. Birch of the British Museum, in the year 1844. He gave his reasons for it in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for July in that year, as also in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute* for March 1847, by which it appeared that his argument was entirely based on the supposition that the ancient Celtic coinage of Britain was regulated by the same principles as a Roman coinage, and should be explained accordingly. To give the result of his views, the details of which have been before alluded to in the former pages of the *Journal*, he interpreted all the British types in which the legend of TASCIO in any of its forms occurred in conjunction with the name Cunobelinus, as implying that he, Cunobeline, was the son of a supposed person named Tasciovanus; and as to the other types in which the word TASCIO, or any modification of it, was the sole legend, those he regarded as the moneys of Tasciovanus himself: thus dividing the coins inscribed TASCIO into two distinct series. Many eminent numismatists, it is true, supported the views of Mr. Birch; to which however

there was this abatement, that the support was given from the very dubious opinion before alluded to, then entertained in common with him, of the identity of the Roman coinage with the British; and the idea that the latter was no more than a species of prolongation of the former. Regarding this, it may be thought that there is a strong presumption to the contrary, Britain certainly having been independent of Rome during the half century over which the reign of Cunobeline extended; besides which there is the probability that the Britons would have imitated their brother Celts of Gaul in their coinage, who had in common with them the same sacred rites, manners, language, and customs. Nor does it follow, because the representations of classical mythology copied from Roman coins appear on British moneys, that their whole national character should be lost. Cunobeline introduced Mithraic representations as well (*Ruding*, v, 31), which were among the external superstitions discountenanced by Augustus. Roman inflexions and terminations, it is true, were introduced upon Cunobeline's coins, in the like manner as the Gauls used Greek terminations, while independent; but no Latin word can be proved to appear upon them, the word REX, or RIX, being Celtic as well as Latin. These matters certainly required due attention; but it was in entire disregard of such considerations that Mr. Birch's explanation was offered; and his hypothesis resolves itself into two propositions: I. That the ancient British coinage, as before remarked, is to be considered entirely on the same principles as a Roman coinage in all cases in which comparisons are applicable; and, II. That this being conceded, there are sufficient data to infer the existence of the supposed Tasciovanus. In observation on these two propositions, it may be remarked that no sufficient reasons have ever been brought forward to substantiate the first, and consequently that the second cannot follow as a corollary from it. As it cannot then, and must stand independently on its own merits, we may venture to say, that all idea of the truth of the hypothesis it was intended to establish becomes extremely improbable and inconsistent. There appears no inscription, no historical or etymological evidence, to support it; various types are against it; and moreover our present one gives it a decided negative.

To proceed then with the evidence afforded by our coin. We may especially observe that those who suppose that the legend TASCIO in its various modifications is a personal name, experience a difficulty in the very outset in meeting with this legend connected with other names in a manner which they cannot consistently bring within the compass of their explanation. For instance, TASCIO as a sole legend, or TASCIO with the name CVNOBELINVS, they could conveniently dispose of, but when it is found combined with other names, as TASCIO SEGO, TASCIO RICON, or CEARATIC TASCIF, of all which legends instances will be seen in former numbers of the *Journal*, they are obliged to make a special hypothesis for each case; and chronology and probability must suffer or not as it happens. Thus SEGO, interpreted as the Segonax of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, according to their hypothesis must also be considered as a son of Tasciovanus, and consequently as a brother of Cunobeline, though it is evident from Cæsar that their date was widely different.[1] TASCIO RICON is explained as a proper name, of one word, while the coin of Caractacus, CEARATIC TASCIF, a type which could not have been invented, is doubted, very unmeritedly it may be thought, as to the correctness of its reading. These assertions may be found advanced in various papers or publications in which the subject is mentioned; and the awkwardness of these said explanations certainly destroys all confidence in the theory advanced. What shall we say, then, when another discrepant legend appears embodying this word TASCIO, and having the insignia of the Iceni, a state quite distinct from the dominions of Cunobeline? Such, however, are the phenomena which Mr. C. Roach Smith's type presents. To this we know not what explanation may be given; but as there was no Tasciovanus among the Iceni, we may consider it, together with other good proofs, as sufficiently deciding the question.

The coin itself may now require a few words of further

[1] There are two types,—the one inscribed SEGO only, the other TASCIO SEGO. The first of these is closely cognate with a coin of Cunobeline, inscribed CVN SOLIDV, being in a similar style of execution, and having a chain border on the reverse, not found on other classes of British coins,—as is noted in the Journal, vol. iii, p. 38. The improbability is there pointed out of assigning the first of these coins to Segonax, who lived fifty-four years before the Christian era; while the other cognate type, CVN SOLIDV, is applied to Cunobeline, who died forty-one or forty-two years after that epoch. The three coins are engraved in the Journal, vol. iii, pp. 14 and 18.

explanation, with which we may conclude our remarks on the evidence it affords; for having already described the general bearing of the question, it only seems required to add a little to the description of this new type, more fully to set forth what it is.

The obverse, then, has the unknown object or ornament which has been before mentioned. In the present instance, it is without the fillets and loops with which it is usually delineated, as also it is without the moulded work or framework at the back of the object, which is not absent in other instances. The intention of this is clear, that the lettering of the legend might not be interfered with; none of the coins thus ornamented being inscribed on those sides. The inscription VREIS · R is VREIS(VTAGVS) R(EX); and the reverse, which has the horse, has over it TASCI, *i. e.*, ruler or leader. Thus the whole is Prasutagus, king and ruler; and it may be added that this is the only coin at present known of that monarch.

Regarding the orthography VRE for PRE, the difference does not seem to be material, the letters having nearly the same power. The name Prasutagus comes to us through Tacitus, a Roman writer; we therefore do not know precisely what the original Celtic form may have been. We find, in the fifth century, the name Caradoc Braichbras written as Caradoc Vreichvras, which seems the same kind of permutation of letters; and indeed an instance much in point.

Regarding the question of date, it is very probable that we have here in our specimen one of the later British coins. Prasutagus died after the accession of Nero, as we find from Tacitus; indeed, as near as we can judge, about the year 59. Admitting this, he must have been sixteen years on the throne after the Romans landed, during which time this coin might have been struck, as the Iceni, having courted an alliance with the Romans, and abandoned the cause of their countrymen, might have retained their independence for a longer period than it was enjoyed by a considerable portion of the island.

In brief recapitulation, it may be remarked, that the reader may be referred, for the due interpretation generally of the legends on Cunobeline's coins, to volume v of the *Journal*, p. 146; and to vol. vi, p. 16. Our task, on the

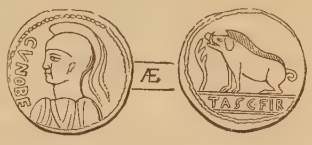
present occasion, has been rather to shew the correct bearing of the newly discovered coin on the inscription TASCIO, the explanation of which is so indispensable for the understanding of the ancient British series. Former researches had led to the conclusion, that this legend was merely titular, from the obvious derivation of the word, and from its being frequently joined to the names of rulers. However, Celtic literature has so far perished, that in doing this, it of course could not be expected that every objection would be obviated; our present specimen, therefore, as supplying fresh proof, comes in with forcible effect. Together with TASCIO RICON and CEARATIC TASCIF, it shews a multiplied use of the word, and in two different British states at least; so that its meaning, in a titular sense, as sovereign or ruler, seems finally established.

THE LEGEND TASC·FIR.

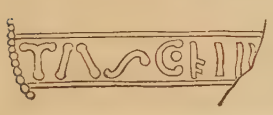
The illustration afforded by the newly discovered medal just discussed, which seems of a nature calculated to remove all further hesitation, has induced a re-examination of Mr. Wigan's type (see vol. iii of the *Journal*, p. 35), as also that of the Hon. R. C. Neville (*Ibid.*), both of which will be found to have a considerable bearing affirmatively on our subject.

At the time then of the discovery of the type inscribed with the legend TASC·FIR. in the year 1844, the reading does not seem to have been absolutely denied, but only pronounced uncertain, from the corroded state, as alleged, of the coin (compare the *Numismatic Chronicle* for July 1844, pp. 79 and 84; and see also the *Archæological Journal* for March 1847, p. 29). Indeed, on consulting those passages, it will be perceived that some points are admitted, which make the reading extremely probable. Now judging from the appearance of this coin, the impression neither seems to have been obliterated by wear before it was buried in the ground, nor does it appear to have been imperfectly struck. Corrosion, therefore, might take place to a considerable extent in this case, and yet the inscription remain legible; and that a legible inscription, reading TASC·FIR. did remain, no doubt was entertained by Mr. Wigan the

possessor; in whose opinion also Mr. Cureton participated, as well as a skilful numismatist, a friend of the former gentleman, living in that part of Kent. By the kind permission of Mr. Wigan, an engraving of the coin is here given; and there may be reason to think, that the then apparent strangeness of the legend, may have been the principal reason for rejecting the reading.



Regarding the legend on Mr. Neville's coin, the case is different; it is no indistinct impression here, either real or assumed, which occurs as the cause of doubt, as the rim itself cuts off part of the concluding letter; but however asserted to the contrary, it still offers the same reading of TASC·FIR, enough still remaining of the last letter to shew this; and the only reason apparently why this has been overlooked hitherto, is the singularly disjoined way in which the letters of the legend are formed. The accompanying fac-simile of the inscription, on a scale somewhat enlarged, from a plaster cast of the coin, will shew this very completely.



It will be easily seen how great an advance the right reading of these two legends makes in our knowledge of ancient British coins. We may here take occasion to remark, that the greater attention has been paid in the pages immediately preceding, and in former parts of the *Journal*, to types inscribed with the legends TASC, TASCIO, etc., from their occasioning the principal difficulty which has existed in the investigation of this our ancient national series. It is in all cases desirable to remove error; and the idea that there ever was a king in these islands named Tasciovanus, as has been supposed by some even eminent antiquaries and numismatists, is entirely imaginary, and is well deserving to be dispelled by correct investigations. This mistaken opinion, we need scarcely observe, involves our ancient British history in an obscurity which does not belong to it; and confuses the little authentic information which can be obtained from the ancient chronicles, or from other accessible sources. Regarding the chronicles; their narrative, though fabulous in many parts, has usually been considered as worthy of credit, in some of their statements

at least, from the time of Giraldus Cambrensis downwards. In particular, those personages of British story, Manogan, Beli Mawr, and Tinancius, father of Cunobeline, not Tasciovanus, are very commonly received as characters which had real existence, and the name Timancius has support from the Angora inscription.—*Gent. Mag.* July 1847.

To continue our subject. It has before been explained that the Belgian Gauls overran in ancient times the greater part of Britain, and even crossed over to Ireland (see vol. vi of the *Journal*, p. 20), but having already endeavoured to shew forth generally these facts, we may now confine ourselves to an illustration which may relate particularly to Cunobeline's dominions, and add some further grounds for our believing that they were held by the British Belgæ, and that he ruled over them as a monarch of that nation. For this we may cite the description of Britain which Cæsar gives us in his Commentaries, *Gaulish Wars*, v, 12, or at least that portion of it, in which he speaks of foreigners settled in Britain, which will be found sufficient for our purpose.

We have then what relates to our present topic as follows: "Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum dicunt: maritima pars ab iis qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgio transierant: qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, et bello illato ibi remanserunt et agros colere cœperunt." That is: "The interior part of Britain is inhabited by those who are esteemed aborigines; the maritime part by those who have passed over from Belgium for plunder or with hostile intentions. These last usually bear the names of the states whence they came, and having made war, settled there, and began to cultivate the ground."

Cæsar thus, in describing Britain, says that certain parts, which he calls the "maritime parts", and which had been mentioned in a passage immediately preceding as the "maritime states", and described as being to the south of the Thames, were under the jurisdiction of the Belgic Gauls. The interior parts, he says, continued to be possessed by those whom he terms the original inhabitants, or "natos in insulâ", as he expresses it. Taking his words strictly, he certainly does not meet our views, as a great part of Cuno-

beline's dominions were to the north of the Thames: one other particular which he notices, however, does, for he especially directs our attention to the circumstance that some of the Belgic states of Britain bore the same names as did the parent states on the continent. To this he appears to allude as a well known proof of the identity of their origin. Cæsar knew that in saying this he had good and sufficient grounds; but we find that one of the states north of the Thames, the Cassii, forming the nucleus of Cunobeline's dominions, had the same name as the Catti of Belgium, for they were called also the Catieuchlani. Here, then, we may apply Cæsar's remark, and conclude it to be very improbable that this British state should have been called the Cassii or Catieuchlani, unless they actually derived their origin from the Catti of the continent; and we may have little difficulty in believing, from this circumstance, that the Belgic Gauls held territories on both sides of the Thames.

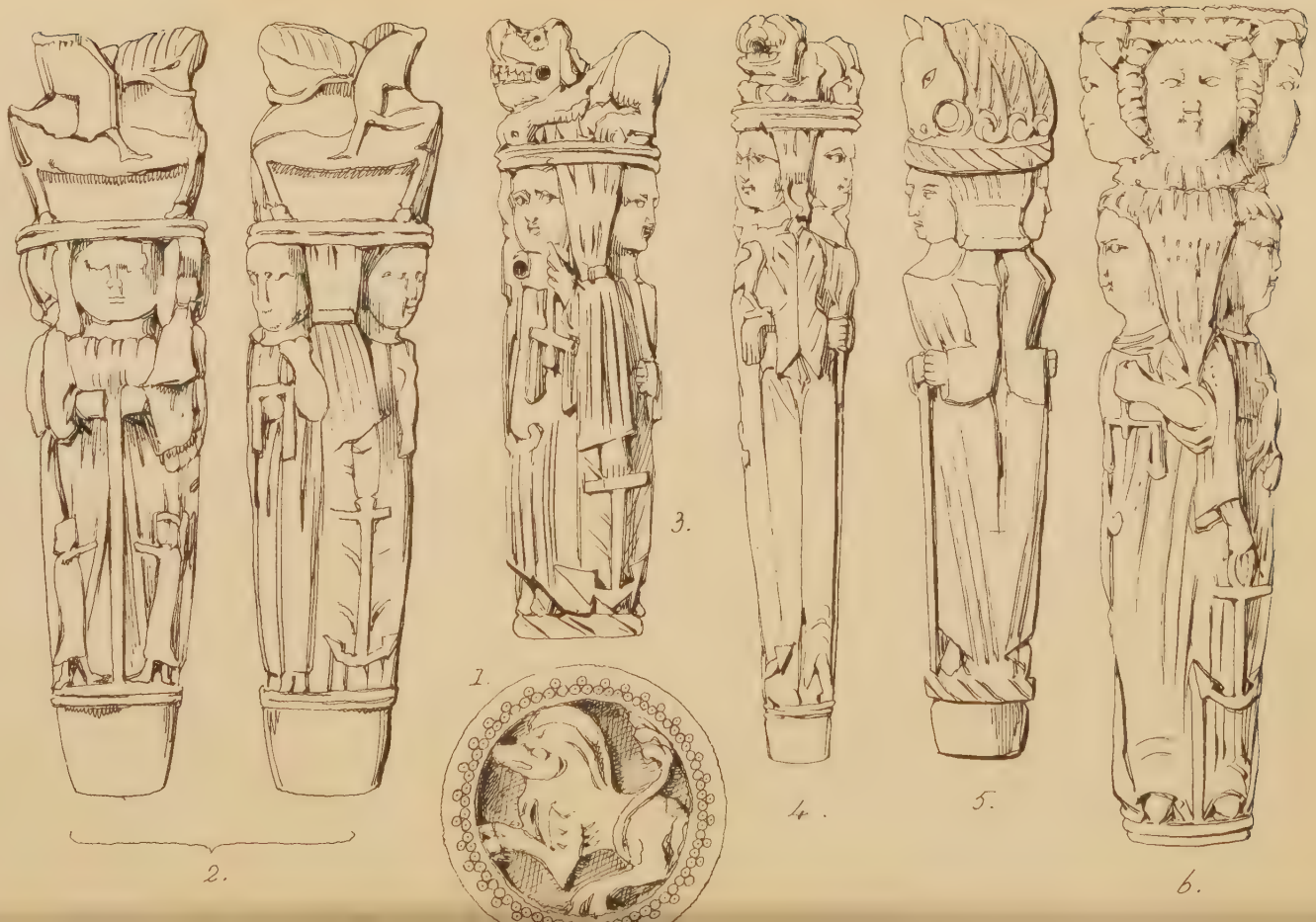
This is the more confirmed in other places of the Commentaries, by Cæsar himself, since, when it is said that Cassivelaunus, who was king of the Cassii, was at war with the states south of the Thames, that is, with the Belgic Gauls of the south and south-eastern coasts (*Gaulish Wars*, v, 11), we might have expected, had so remarkable a state of things existed, as that the aboriginal inhabitants still continued a contest with the Gaulish invaders, that Cæsar would hardly have failed to have noticed it; instead of this, however, he merely records that Cassivelaunus had been at war with the "maritime states". Again, in another place (*Gaulish Wars*, v, 9), speaking of the intestine wars of the Britons, the same wars, as it appears by the context, he calls them "bella domestica", *i. e.* domestic wars; a term which, equally with his mention of the insular hostilities before noticed, would have been hardly applicable to a struggle with a foreign force.

We cannot fail to see in this that there must be a misstatement in the passage in Cæsar's Commentaries, that at book v, 12, of the *Gaulish Wars*, the general tenor of which we have been here considering. The interior part of Britain there spoken of as possessed by the aborigines, could not have been the region immediately joining the south-eastern maritime states. It must have been the country of

the Brigantes which was meant. This idea is invested with far more probability, as the early inhabitants, retiring before the Belgic Gauls, may have here stemmed the torrent, finding some security in the comparative remoteness of the situation. It is an opinion very commonly entertained by antiquarian writers; and it is certain that the appellation Brigantes, from whatever source derivable, has no affinity to the name of any Belgic state. We have attempted to give, in the former number of the *Journal* already referred to, some data to shew how the ancient Belgic population was distributed in Britain; and the correct opinion ostensibly is, that all the island south of the state of the Brigantes, that is, of Yorkshire and Lancashire, was occupied by these foreigners, though possibly with an exception of the country of the Dumnonii; that is, Cornwall and part of Devon. The Belgic Gauls seemed even to have crossed the Humber, and to have established themselves on the eastern coasts in that quarter, as the name of a tribe there, the "Parisii", implies was the case; the same being the name of a people in Belgic Gaul. The Commentaries of Cæsar then appear to be incorrect in the particular passage in question; but how the error crept in, whether it was an error of the original, or introduced afterwards by transcribers, there appears nothing to shew.

We thus see that the result of these last inquiries gives us scope to consider that Cunobeline was one of the kings of the Belgic Gauls of Britain. Now the Belgian Gauls were called the Firbolg, or Viri Bullorum, as we may appeal to eminent Celtic scholars of past times and of the present day. Cunobeline, therefore, it may easily be admitted, may have assumed the title of TASCIO FIRBOLG, or sovereign of the Firbolgi, that is, of the Belgian Gauls, which seems perfectly to explain the whole matter.

In conclusion, we may observe, that the causes which have prevented this controverted point, as to the meaning of the legend TASCIO, being before decided, seem to be as follows. I. That the modern Welch dialect of the Celtic has not preserved that word in any close approach to the original, though the Erse has; which prevented Camden and other early scholars from recognising it when met with on British coins, as also it has done most of the moderns. II. The not discriminating that the word REX on British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coins, with its cognates, is a Celtic as well as a Roman word, and consequently the erroneously believing that the British coins altogether latinized and had no distinct nationality of their own; and, III. lastly and principally, the assuming that the Roman formula CAESAR·DIVI·F. explained all those legends in which TASC·F. or TASCIOVANI·F. appears.

Nor must we forget the corollary to the above. That the Britons thus possessed a national coinage, shews a higher degree of civilization than is usually assigned to them; whence, the barbarism with which they are taxed in Cæsar, Solinus, Pomponius Mela, and other ancient authors, is probably somewhat exaggerated, and might have been the rather imputed to them as being a remote people of Europe. We may the more adopt this opinion, as it must be admitted that the facility with which Tacitus (*Agricola*, c. 21) describes the Britons as acquiring oratory, and adopting the Roman embellishments of life, must be taken as evidence that they were somewhat civilized before.

It only remains to add, that on recent examination, the reading TASC FIR in both instances has the sanction of eminent authorities, whose names might be cited.

ON CARVINGS IN MORSE IVORY.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ.

THE morse (*trichechus rosmarus*, *Linn.*) inhabits all parts of the Icy sea; and its upper canine teeth, or tusks, are at times nearly two feet in length, and of great thickness, weighing occasionally full thirty pounds. The pulp cavity occupies about a fifth of the entire length of the tooth; the ivory is composed of delicately interwoven fibres of a very fine white colour, covered with a hard rugose enamel. The core, or inner part of the tooth, has a peculiar crystalline appearance, and is of an oily-yellowish hue. Morse ivory is easily distinguishable from that of the elephant by the three distinct layers of material of which it is composed, by its central crystalline core, by the absence of

the intersecting curves, resembling "engine-turned" articles, which characterize the elephant's tusks; by its greater hardness, and also by its retaining its white appearance much longer than elephant's ivory does. The morse tusks, which we receive from the Esquimaux, are generally so soaked with oil that the pristine colour cannot be detected.

Hakluyt records the fact, that about the year 890, Ohthere the Norwegian, made a voyage beyond the north cape of Norway, to hunt horse-whales, which have teeth of great value, some of which he brought to king Alfred.[1] In the treasury of St. Denis were formerly preserved "two teeth of a sea-horse of a prodigious bigness, sent to St. Denis by David king of Scotland."[2] And there is a tradition preserved in the curious "Saga of Kröka Ref," or Kröka the Crafty, who lived in the eleventh century,[3] which relates that Gunner, prefect of Greenland, wishing to gain the friendship of Harold Hardraad, king of Norway (A.D. 1046-1067), by the advice of Barder, a Norwegian *kaup-mann*, or merchant, sent to the king three of the most valuable articles the island could furnish; they were these: 1. a full-grown white tame bear; 2. a "tan-tabl," exquisitely carved (this is believed to be either a set of chess-men or a chess-table); 3. a skull of the rostungr (*morse*), with the teeth secured in their sockets, and beautifully sculptured and decorated with gold.

The ancient Northmen were early celebrated for their skill in carving the tusks of the morse, and fashioning various articles of use and ornament out of them; and a few Scandinavian amulets, formed of this material, have even been discovered in this country. In the *Journal* of the Association (vol. i, p. 64), will be found a slight notice of an amulet which I had the honour of submitting to the consideration of the Council, and which I have reason to believe was exhumed in Shropshire. It is probably the work of the ninth or tenth century.

[1] Hakluyt's "Voyage", i, 5; and Forster's "Account of Voyages in the North".

[2] See "An Historical Explication of what there is most remarkable in that Wonder of the World, The French King's Royal House at Versailles, and in that of Monsieur at St. Cloud; together with A Compendious Inventory of the Treasury of St. Denis." London, 1684; p. 137.

[3] The work itself is believed to have been composed about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. lv, p. 91), is figured an amulet, bearing two warriors holding up a wolf by its hind legs. This may be the Wolf Fenrir, the offspring of Loki. From the dress of the figures, this sculpture is evidently the production of the latter part of the tenth century. It was found near Pembroke, South Wales.

A third example is in the collection of Mr. E. B. Price, and was exhumed in Queen-street in 1842. It is wrought out of a vertical section of the tusk, and represents a dragon-like monster; the margin is decorated with numerous small incuse circles, like those occurring upon early Saxon works, but which are of the greatest rarity as an embellishment upon Scandinavian monuments. (See plate II, fig. 1.)

The royal museum at Copenhagen is rich in specimens of carvings in morse ivory, but perhaps one of the most curious it possesses, is a group of five figures, measuring about three inches in height. One represents a monarch on horseback with a lunate-shaped shield, by his side is a warrior equipped with spear and bow, and behind the horse is a figure bearing a long sword and blowing a curved horn; the fourth figure holds the king's stirrup, and the fifth is armed with a sword and a long oval shield reaching from the head to the knees. From the crescent-shaped shield of the monarch, we may probably infer that this piece of sculpture is not later than the tenth or eleventh century.

In the collection of mediæval works of art, lately exhibited at the rooms of the Society of Arts, was a very curious small tablet of morse ivory, wrought with figures; the three principal representing the Saviour, St. Mary, and St. Peter. It is a production of the twelfth century, and was deposited by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

The largest collection of carvings in morse ivory yet discovered in Britain is the extraordinary series of chessmen in the British Museum. They were found in 1831 by a peasant, whilst digging on a sand bank, in the isle of Lewis, on the sea shore, in the parish of Uig. From their material, style of execution, and place of exhumation, no doubt exists that they were wrought in Iceland about the middle of the twelfth century.

Olaus Magnus, archbishop of Upsala, informs us, in his antiquarian *History of the Northern Nations* (lib. xxi, c. 29),

that it was common among the Icelanders to carve the teeth of the morse in the most artificial manner, for the purpose of making chess-men. And in the same work he also speaks of these teeth being wrought into sword-hilts, by the people of the north.[1] Olaus Wormius, when alluding to the Rosmar, in the description of his museum, says: "Out of its teeth various articles are made, such as rings against the cramp, handles of swords, javelins, and knives, because the weight of the material renders a blow from the weapon of greater force. On this account, these teeth are sent to the Turks and Tartars in traffic, by whom they are eagerly sought after. The Icelanders cut out of them very skilfully the figures used in the game of chess."[2]

Knife-handles, wrought out of pieces of morse ivory, are by no means of rare occurrence; and they offer perhaps some of the most common examples of Icelandic carving met with.

In the museum of the United Service Institution is a knife-haft, composed of three figures, said to represent Faith, Hope, and Justice, surmounted by an equestrian figure habited in a cloak, the upper part of which is mutilated. It appears to be the work of the thirteenth century, and is stated to have been found, in 1828, near the ruins of an old monastery at Plumstead in Kent. (See pl. II, fig. 2.)

Through the kindness of Mr. C. Lynch, we are enabled to inspect an example much like that in the museum of the United Service Institution. It consists of three figures, possibly intended for Faith, Hope, and Justice, although the attributes differ in some degree from those generally found with this triad. The figures have the flowing locks so much prized and cherished by the northern nations, and are clothed in long vests. One rests its right hand upon the end of an anchor; the second supports a pair of scales in the left hand, and grasps a sword with the right; upon the left arm of the third figure is seated an infant in long clothes, and the hands hold a staff in front, which is supported on each side by a little figure habited in a *roch* or tunic. This triad is surmounted by the figure of a couchant lion; it is evidently the work of the fifteenth century. (See plate II, fig. 3.)

[1] Hist. Gent. Sept., lib. xxi, cap. 28, p. 789, fol. 1567.

[2] Museum Wormianum, fol. 1655, p. 290.

An example resembling the last in general aspect is exhibited by Mr. C. M. Jessop, but the figure of Hope has the addition of a bird perched upon the left hand, and the whole is surmounted by a group of four heads, with the hair arranged in stiff curls across the forehead, and each has a ruff, or frill, round the throat: the top is carved with a flower. (See plate II, fig. 6.) It was obtained at Flushing.

We are also favoured by Mr. Henry Norris with the exhibition of another specimen similar to Mr. Lynch's, but on the left hand of Hope is perched a small bird, and the figure with the infant is unattended by supporters at the base of her staff, and the surmounting object is a couchant lion. It is the work of the sixteenth century, and was exhumed about forty years since on the site of the White Canon Priory at Taunton. (See plate II, fig. 4.)

I beg also to lay before the Association an example of these Icelandic morse-tusk knife-handles, which consists of only two figures placed back to back, and both representing the character which on two of the other specimens is seen holding a child on the left arm, but in this it is omitted, and there are no supporters to either stave. On the top is an equine-like beast, whose limbs are formed by curled locks, much in the same style as those of the elephantine animal upon the upper part of the granite monument known as "Sueno's Pillar" at Forres, county of Elgin, Scotland. This knife-handle, like the last, is of the sixteenth century. (See plate II, fig. 5.)

We have also another example of Icelandic skill in morse-tusk carving. It is a chess-man, and represents a warrior mounting an elephant by resting his hands upon the back of the animal, and placing his left foot upon the end of its proboscis. He wears a square helmet, and a close *roch* or tunic. This piece is I believe a rook, or, as it is called in Icelandic, *Hrôhr* or warder. The earliest form of this piece was an elephant, as appears by Charlemagne's ivory chess-men, formerly kept in the treasury of St. Denis, and now preserved in the cabinet of antiquities in the Bibliothèque du Roi, at Paris. An elephant, either with or without a castle, is still retained as the rook by the modern Germans, Russians, and Danes. The spe-

cimen under consideration is probably the work of the seventeenth century.

The Icelanders of the present day still exhibit a considerable degree of talent in carving; and spoons, combs, toys, snuff-boxes, and other trifles in morse ivory occasionally reach this country, which well attest their ingenuity in this branch of art.

Before proceeding further, we must say a few words upon the supposed medical or rather talismanic virtues residing in the tusks of the morse. The belief in the protective and curative powers of this ivory may, in a great degree, account for the high estimation in which it was held in ancient times. According to Heylyn (*Cosmographie*, p. 1024), the morse-tusk was "esteemed a soveraign antidote against poysons", and rings made of it were considered as efficacious against the cramp and other diseases. Pomet, when speaking of the sea-horse, in his *General History of Drugs* (vol. II, p. 288), says:—"The tooth worn, or a ring made thereof, helps the hæmorrhoides, and easeth the tooth-ache."

The morse is called ei-u-ek by the Esquimaux, and the relative value set upon the tusks of this creature by the ancient Scandinavians and Skrœllings, as the Esquimaux were called by the Northmen, forms a curious and striking contrast. Whilst in Scandinavia, a tusk was looked upon as such a precious treasure that it was thought a gift worthy of royalty, and believed to possess medical and talismanic powers of the highest order, the poor ice-bound Esquimaux have from time immemorial employed the morse teeth for any ordinary purpose where strength was required, fashioning them into tools, heads of hunting-spears, combs, toys, images, and various other objects. Sometimes the Esquimaux employ the morse tusk almost in its natural state, as for instance in the formation of their mattock, which consists of a tooth tightly bound to a pine-wood handle.[1] A mattock, formed of the same material, is also in use amongst the Tshutzki.[2]

Before the Association are now a few examples of the employment of morse tusks by the Esquimaux. The first is the head of a *katteelik*, or spear, for attacking the whale

[1] An example may be seen in the museum of the United Service Institution.

[2] See Saver's "Expedition of Capt. Billings to the Northern parts of Russia", pl. x.

and morse; it consists of an oval blade of iron, riveted into a stem of morse ivory, one foot three inches in length, no trace of the pulp cavity being left. Another specimen of the stem of a *katteelik*, one foot four and a half inches long, has the end pointed to fit into the base of the *siatko*, or moveable head. Not only are the barbed forks of the *nuguee*, or bird-dart, and the blade-stems of hunting-spears, formed of morse tusk, but even the ends of the pine-wood shafts of their weapons have ferrules of the same ivory.

Personal ornaments are also formed of morse tusks. We have here part of an Esquimaux fringe for decorating clothing, consisting of sixty-two pieces of tooth wrought into a pear-shape, the upper end bored and strung upon twisted intestine, and some of them are perforated, and the holes filled with little studs of lead.

The last but not the least interesting specimen of Skrœlling workmanship to which I shall direct your attention, is the representation of a *Venus* from Behring's Straits, wrought out of a piece of morse-tusk, two inches five-eighths high.

In conclusion, I would observe, that it is desirable we should exercise a more critical attention as to the material of specimens found in this country. We often hear of the discovery of ivory knife-handles, chess-men, figures, pins, etc.; but are seldom told whether they be fashioned out of the tusk of the elephant or the morse. The difference between the two ivories is well marked and distinct, and of high importance to observe, for whenever we exhume a carving in morse ivory, we shall not greatly err if we attribute its production to one of the tribes dwelling in the regions of ancient Scandinavia.

REMARKS ON THE SCULPTURED FONT IN KIRKBURN CHURCH, NEAR DRIFFIELD, YORKSHIRE.

BY GEORGE MILNER, ESQ., F.S.A.

WITH ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS BY J. G. WALLER, ESQ., AND WM. BELL, PHIL. DOCT.

During an archæological ramble in the East Riding of Yorkshire, to be present at the opening of some Anglo-Saxon barrows, near Driffield, in August 1849, my attention was first called to the font in Kirkburn church, and having taken an accurate drawing of it, I shall now endeavour to explain what I conceive to be the meaning of the figures sculptured upon it. (See plate III.) In the first place, however, I shall offer a few brief remarks on the churches in this locality (Kirkburn), and endeavour to shew proof of their high antiquity.

Dr. Stukeley visited Driffield in 1740, and in a letter to his friend Gale, says, "The church is very ancient, in it is a basso-relievo of Paulinus"—in all probability alluding to the sculptured figure of an ecclesiastic with a crosier in his left hand, inserted into the wall outside the church at the west end of the south aisle. Paulinus was created the first archbishop of York about 628: this figure is evidently much older than the wall in which it is now placed, and may perhaps have been taken from an earlier building and preserved on account of its sanctity.

If we wander a mile from this spot to Little Driffield, we there find the reputed tomb of one of the Saxon kings; a part of the church containing this was rebuilt in 1807, and in the new and old portion of the building, fragments of ancient tomb-stones may be discovered built up in the wall, containing floreated and early crosses, shewing that the present edifice has been indebted to the demolition of an earlier fabric, for part of its materials, which bear the impress of much earlier times.

In Ethelward's *Saxon Chronicle* we find the following entry in the year 705: "Died, Alfrid king of Northum-

Saxon Font

Kirkburn Church

Etched by J Brown

berland, and the number of years that was then fulfilled from the beginning of the world was five thousand nine hundred."

Leland records,[1] that "after Ecfride reigned Alfride, a good clerk, and eldest son to Oswy, but he was a bastard. He dyed yn the thyrde yere of his reigne at Drifeld, and there is buried." Other allusions are made to Alchfrid, or Alfredus, king of Nordanhumbrorum,[2] being buried at Driffield, A.D. 727, and the discrepancy in dates has led to some doubts on the subject. Leland says (vol. iv, p. 34), that in the church at Driffield could be seen the celebrated monument to one of the Saxon kings, with an inscription in Latin: "Habet enim ecclesiolam, sed celebrem monumento cujusdam Saxoni regis cum inscriptione Latina." It is much to be regretted, that this ancient monument has not been preserved; on my visit to this church a few years ago, I found the following modern inscription on a marble slab:—"Within this church lie interred the body of ALFRED, king of Northumberland, who departed this life January 19, A.D. 705, in the 20 year of his reign.—Statutum est omnibus semel mori."

Enough has, I trust, been now said to prove the ecclesiastical antiquity of this locality; let us, therefore, turn our attention to the spot more immediately under consideration. Kirkburn church is considered by all who have written on the subject one of the most perfect specimens of the "Anglo-Norman period" perhaps in the kingdom, at all events in the East Riding of the county of York.

It consists of a nave and chancel with a square tower at the west end; the walls of the church are very thick, and the windows small and round-headed; within the south porch is a circular-headed doorway of four mouldings, principally chevron, and birds' heads; the corbels are ornamented with many quaint devices and grotesque heads.

In the interior of the church, separating the nave from the chancel, is a semi-circular arch of considerable span, certainly the boldest specimen of the kind I ever remember having seen in this country; it is enriched with four mouldings, three of them chevron or zig-zag, differing somewhat in arrangement, and the outer one billet-headed.

[1] Collectanea, vol. ii, p. 515. [2] Ib., vol. iii, p. 278, 296.

The church is dedicated to St. Mary, and a very able paper on this building was read by Mr. Brereton of Beverley, last year, before the Yorkshire Architectural Society, which will shortly be published in the transactions of that Society.

But to the font. The only account[1] that has been published, so far as I have been able to ascertain, may be seen in Allen's *History of the County of York* (vol. iii, p. 430), which runs thus: "At the west end (of the church) is the font, a very large circular basin; on the outside are several sculptured figures representing the sacrament of baptism, the resurrection, a man leading a wolf, beautiful true-lover's knot, and other work; the whole is defaced by a mass of accumulated whitewash, so as almost to conceal the figures."

Since Allen's account was written, the venerable the archdeacon of the Riding, together with the patron and others connected with the church, have in a praiseworthy manner caused the whitewash to be removed, and the figures may now be seen much more distinctly.

Differing as I do in several points from Allen's partial and imperfect description, I venture to submit to the consideration of the British Archæological Association, the interpretation which I think may be put upon the sculpture on this curious relic of former days, which measures in height three feet, and in circumference nine feet four inches, being sufficiently capacious to immerse any ordinary child. The upper row of figures I apprehend is intended to represent the sacrament of baptism, and no subject more suitable could possibly have been selected to decorate this curious old specimen of church furniture, this sacred vessel, used in the solemn performance of that holy rite.

Our church teaches us that the sacrament of baptism consists of two things, viz., "An outward and visible sign,

[1] Our most respected associate, E. W. Brayley, esq., gave in the Graphic and Historical Illustrator, in 1834, a representation of a portion of the font, which he considered as probably coeval with the church, justly regarded as one of the most perfect specimens of Anglo-Norman architecture in England; and he particularly deduces this opinion from the series of intersecting arches in its uppermost course of ornament. Kirkburn church, he adds, is situated in a part of the country which was formerly covered with wood and infested by wolves; and hints the probability of the legend at the bottom of the font referring to the supposed miraculous interposition of some ecclesiastic or hermit in overpowering them.

of an inward and spiritual grace". The figures on the left are, no doubt, intended to represent the "outward and visible sign", and the group on the right, I think, is intended to show symbolically the "inward spiritual grace", or new birth attendant on baptism, and could never be meant, I think, to represent the resurrection, as stated by Allen.

In the former group may be seen in the centre a font with a child immersed, the head alone being visible. In this we have therefore an early example of infant baptism; the officiating minister is in the act of laying his hand, or probably signing the cross, upon the newly-admitted member of the church; a dove is represented descending upon the child, typifying the descent of the Holy Ghost. On the right and left may be seen the gossips, or sponsors, undertaking on behalf of the child the obligations required by the church on admission within its sacred pale. A bishop is represented with his pastoral staff—or it may be a deacon holding the crook whilst the bishop officiates; but whether the presence of this dignitary may have been intended to commemorate or indicate any particular occasion, I will not presume to say. The figure on one side the font bears a sprig of rosemary, or rue,—the former was anciently thought to strengthen the memory, the latter was designated "herb of grace". The centre group represents the apostle Peter receiving from the Saviour the keys of heaven, clearly implying the power of the church; the figure of Christ is represented with a nimbus, or glory, around the head. The group on the right hand I think is intended to represent regeneration, or new birth; the child is represented with a nimbus, or glory, to indicate, I presume, spiritual birth. The figures on the right and left, which are very rudely executed, may represent the spiritual church assisting in the new birth, or spiritual regeneration: these two figures render it exceedingly improbable that the resurrection is here intended to be represented; since no earthly aid or influence can possibly be imagined to take any part in this spiritual transformation; whilst in the sacrament of baptism we are taught that the church must necessarily take a humble part.

From the rude execution of the sculpture on the Kirkburn font, we may fairly, I think, infer that it may have belonged to some Saxon building; and the barbarous exe-

cution of the figures, in my opinion, places it prior to the Conquest. No portion of the church in which it is now placed, although a part of it may lay claim to the Norman period, displays anything like such unskilful workmanship. I can only, therefore, infer, that it must have belonged to some earlier building.

In the centre of the lower range of figures upon the font, we have a hieroglyphical device, which Allen calls "a true lover's knot": probably before the whitewash was removed, it might have presented an appearance that would lead to this conjecture; as it however shews itself at present, we must look for some other definition of its meaning, and endeavour to take it in conjunction with the figures on the right and left. On the one hand I presume we have presented *carnality*, and on the other *spirituality* of influence on the mind, feelings, or passions. The interlaced elliptical figures may be intended to represent *redemption* and *remission* as indissolubly united, and the square as implying its universality, or the length and breadth of the world. On the left, we have the *carnal* or evil passion pourtrayed: the serpent we shall take, in this instance, not as an emblem of wisdom, but as a representation of the beast that beguiled Eve. Then we have the cat devouring a mouse, another strong example of carnality; next we have a figure, which from the mutilated state of the font, may be taken for a bird and serpent, either separately or joined together, and we imagine may have been intended to represent a cockatrice (a fabulous animal, represented with the body of a cock and the tail of a serpent), another type of evil; on the extreme left we have a satanic figure with the axe, an emblem of destruction, over his shoulder. On the right, I conceive we have the emblems of spiritual influences displayed, as described by the prophet Ezekiel, "the wolf shall lie down with the lamb," etc.: here we have the lamb bearing the cross, the emblem of Christianity.

Thus I have given the interpretation which to my mind at least appears most satisfactory as to the figures. I am however aware, that some distinguished antiquaries are disposed to entertain a different opinion, and I am happy in having their observations appended to this communication.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FONT AT KIRKBURN.

BY J. G. WALLER, ESQ.

In the foregoing account, Mr. Milner has fallen into the common error of attempting an elucidation of a work of a remote age, by thoughts suggested in the present. No plan can be more liable to error, and truth can only in such a process be arrived at by accident. If we would endeavour to comprehend the ideas of a past period, as exemplified in their monuments, we must, as far as possible, throw ourselves back into it, and endeavour to comprehend the motives, and the thoughts, that operated in their production. The sculptures, on the font in question, are of the rudest kind; they can only be compared to the feeble works, such as children are accustomed to produce; and indeed were the productions of a time when art was in a state of childhood. To expect any thing of a recondite meaning were out of the question; feeble imitations, and conventions, were all that the artists were capable of; imagination they had none.

To interpret the subjects on this font, therefore, we must go to contemporary works, and become acquainted with well known conventions. Then is there no difficulty whatever, but every thing is clear and intelligible. The subjects on the font are three: "the Baptism of Christ", "the charge to Peter", and the "Ascension"—not Resurrection, as is stated in the *Graphic Illustrator*. We will take the first, "the Baptism", a very curious design, but very intelligible on the principles laid down. Here, remarkably enough, we have a representation of our Saviour's baptism, given as in a font of the very same shape as that on which the sculpture itself is executed, and instead of the river Jordan. It is singular, but quite in the spirit with which the old artists acted; it was a more convincing argument, too, in favour of the sacred rite, to show the Saviour having it performed on him in the same manner. Mr. Milner describes a nimbus as being around the head of the figure immersed in the font, which of itself would be conclusive of an intention to represent Christ, but the dove descending above upon him, puts all question at once aside. The

figure opposite to the Baptist, like him, holds a book in his right hand, and in the other, not "a branch of rue", but most probably the "aspergillum", or holy water sprinkler; another proof of the subject being treated as if occurring in the same age as the construction of the font.

The next subject is equally obvious, viz., "the Charge to Peter"; Christ, distinguished by the crossed nimbus, is delivering the keys to Peter, who, holding a book in his left hand, with the right grasps one of the keys, the other being in the hand of the Saviour. The third subject is less obvious, but to one experienced in the contemporary works and the recognized conventions, it is as unmistakable as the others; and manuscripts without number give the subject treated in the same way. To mention one, though of a very superior art to the sculptures, I may allude to the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, a work of the tenth century, but evidently by the hand of no common genius. In the very rude work, however, now under consideration, we trace the ordinary convention—Christ, with the crossed nimbus, the peculiar mark of his divinity, with both hands elevated, is surrounded by an aureole, or cloud of glory, which is held on each side by angels, a very common mode of representation; for however intangible is the idea of emanation, the artists of the middle ages gradually gave it a palpable substance; and on the tympanum of the cathedral of Mayence it is very boldly sculptured, and treated precisely as we have it in the font at Kirkburn. At Rochester cathedral the western doors present us with another example; also at Malmesbury abbey church, and several others scattered about different parts of the country; not to omit one example of an elaborate character at the church of Newbald, in Yorkshire, which is, however, in a mutilated state. In the choice of subjects, regard has been paid to propriety. Baptism, the initiating rite of the Christian church, is exemplified in that of our Saviour; the delivering of the keys of heaven and hell to St. Peter, shows the authority and power of the church; whilst the last, Christ's ascension into heaven, shadows forth the final destiny of man and his promise of immortality.

Respecting the sculptures beneath the range above examined, as Dr. Bell offers an explanation, I shall only allude to them. My opinion is, however, that the apologue of

Reynard the Fox is not intended; but that an allegory after the fashion of those in the Bestiaries, is here adopted, probably as a gloss upon the sacred text given above. A few words as to the antiquity of this curious font, and I shall conclude these remarks.

It has been too much the custom to give an earlier date to such works as these than circumstances warrant. The decorations of this font, the flutings, the interlacing arches, are common to early Norman remains; and after an attentive consideration of the whole, I do not think one is warranted in giving to it an earlier date than the eleventh century. A distinction is too often made between Saxon and Norman work, when in fact none existed, and the use of such terms too often misleads. If we take, indeed, the works of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, and compare them with the eleventh and twelfth, a broad distinction may be made, but it is in fact only a superior development caused by superior science. The term Romanesque is more correct as applied to both, because both were imitations of the debased classic style, and were necessarily feeble in a period of great ignorance of scientific construction.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FONT AT KIRKBURN.

BY WILLIAM BELL, PHIL. DOCT., FOR. SEC.

Having been requested by our excellent associate, G. Milner, esq., F.S.A., to give him my opinion on the lower portion of the Kirkburn font, I did so from the mere recollection of a slight and cursory view of his drawing, stating that I thought it contained allusions and characters belonging to the moral apologue of *Reynard the Fox*. To that opinion Mr. Milner very courteously and candidly demurred. As, however, a more careful study of the larger artistic drawing with which Mr. Milner has now favoured the Society but confirms me in my opinion, I will endeavour to fortify it by such remarks as a long study of that old morality has enabled me to offer.

Mr. Milner's objections to my theory were based principally upon the discrepancy in point of time intervening

betwixt the execution of the sculpture, which he fixes at "nine hundred years ago, or at least prior to the Norman Conquest", and the first appearance of the poem of *Reinecke Voss*, which he seems to suppose is of no earlier date than the first printed edition in 1498, usually, but probably erroneously, ascribed to Heinrik van Alkmaar. Now, as regards the sculpture, I cannot hesitate to adhere to the opinion expressed above, by our associate Mr. Waller, as on matters of mediæval carving his authority is universally admitted and must be considered decisive, "that it dates not earlier than the eleventh century", in which Allen's view agrees (*Hist. of York*, vol. ii, p. 255), in calling the church "the most perfect specimen of parochial architecture of the Anglo-Norman period perhaps in the kingdom". If, therefore, we can trace the story of Reynard to that, or an earlier period, the discrepancy vanishes, and it may then be permitted to strengthen the conjecture, by corroborative proof that such tales were allowable, and exhibited on the sacred edifices of other countries as well as of our own.

It is now most generally admitted, that we can trace the origin of all our fables and moral apologues to the east. Phædrus took his fables acknowledgedly from Æsop, who had most probably Lockman for his prototype; and the moral teachings of the latter continued in such favour amongst the Arabians, that they are frequently quoted in the Koran: the boasted ethics in these Mussulman revelations are probably but the revived recollections of such early apothegms heard by an Arabian youth from the lips of his parents or the elders of his tribe. One of Phædrus' fables, more commonly cited perhaps than any other, that of the Fox and Grapes, bears internal evidence of its eastern origin: that a fox would give, as an excuse for passing by grapes for which he longed, that they were sour, loses all its appositeness in a western application. Foxes with us have no penchant for grapes; but this desire is well established for the jackal, the oriental hero of the original. The fables of Babrius and Bidpai, where these animals figure as the principal interlocutors, are the eastern or borrowed proofs of the earliest *animali parlanti* in general, and of foxes more especially: and I lament that the intervention of the binder at our national library should for the moment have prevented me from citing, from a

satirical Egyptian papyrus, expressions and sentences, one or two of which conform almost verbally to corresponding passages of my *platt deutch Reynecke Voss* of 1606. Any reader at a later period, may find them in Dr. Lepsius' *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Ægyptischen Alterthums.* Leips. 1844. When I had the opportunity of consulting this work, some time back, my mind was forcibly impressed with the conviction, that the votaries of Isis were instructed, by the cunning of the fox and the wiles of the serpent, to avoid the snares and meet the difficulties of life. Thus much for the antiquity of fable in the east, and of the fox or jackal as principal actor.

In the west, from the natural predilections of all nations and ages for this species of instruction, fables and parables must have been introduced with its earliest population; and to come at once to the story before us, it will suffice to introduce the authority of Jacob Grimm, its most careful investigator, of what he and Göthe considered, in its *platt deutsch* dress, as a national epos, second but to the Iliad. In his *Sendschreiben an Lackman*, p. 3, he says: "I fancy that I have sufficiently established the conjecture, that the source of this fable belongs to the *earliest* period of our nation, and, if anything, is yore German (Urdeutsch)." This is part of the preface to the publication of a fragment of the poem dating at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century: the undoubted prototype of Heinrik van Alkmaar, or Baumann's *platt deutsch* version.

As to our own country, I do not know how far the following coincidences with a Scotch poet of the same period may afford a proof that some version of *Reynard the Fox* was common in Britain so early; at all events it is curious. Barbour's poem, *The Bruce*, must have been written about the middle of the thirteenth century; and it begins with the following verses:

> This was in midst of month of May,
> When birdis sing on ilka spray,
> Melland their notes with seemly soun,
> For softness of the sweet seasoun.
> And leaves of the branchis spreeds,
> And blossomis bright beside them breeds,
> And fieldis strawed are with flowers,
> Well savouring of their bright colours.

And a comparison with the opening of my edition of *Reyncke* will shew how almost verbal is the agreement:

Idt geschach up einen pingste dach
Dat men de wölde und velde sach
Gröne stahn, mit Loff und Grass.
Und mennich Vagel frölick was
Mit gesunge in hagen und up Bömen
De Krüder spruten uth unde de Blomen
De alle ganz wol röcken hyr und dar;
De dach war schöne und dat weder klar.

As it is unlikely, from the moderate national intercourse of that period, and the most probably slight diffusion of the Scottish poem, that the German had Barbour's work before him, I conclude, I hope not too hastily, that both must have had an older fable to copy from; and their joint use argues great value and circulation for their prototype. This, therefore, proves that the story must have existed in Britain at a sufficiently early period.

The next point we shall discuss is: were such subjects as the apologue of Renard the Fox admissible as church ornaments, and on their sacred utensils? That fables in general were frequently resorted to, to furnish forth architectural embellishments, we may assert, from their frequent appearance in such localities, not only at home, but in foreign countries: for the latter, I shall at present only cite the entrance to the cathedral at Amiens, where the fables of the fox and crow, and fox and crane, are unmistakably exhibited, and still show the predilection of the moralist for Reynard in every phase. There are drawings of them in the *Bulletin Monumental*, tom. xii, p. 98, with the following remarks, which are too apposite to be omitted.

"Les sujets au coté gauche, la fable du loup et de la cicogne, et celle du renard et du corbeau, ne sont pas étrangers à la prédication sur les vices et les vertus. La méthode d'instruire et d'édifier par les fables s'accommodant trop bien aux auditeurs naifs et illettrés du moyen age. —On les trouve dans les bouches des prédicateurs et parmi les leçons de morale qu'on donnait au peuple par la sculpture."

The Dom at Brandenburg, the ancient Wendic Brennaborg—founded, if not in the twelfth, certainly early in the thirteenth, century—has a very curious portal, in which, on the capitals of its columns, is carved in fine freestone, the

whole story of Reynard, in pilgrim guise, inveigling the credulous denizens of the poultry-yard into his clutches. These sculptures are well described by von Spiecker (*Religions Geschichte der Marken*, p. 437) as consisting of eight scenes on as many pillars, every one of which is to be found in the platt German poem, and many in the accompanying wood-cuts; and not to be behind in our own country, we learn, in a note to Taylor's metrical translation of it (London 1845), that "old frescoes relating to Reyneke der Fuchs have been discovered on the walls of the cathedral of Canterbury". The tapestry, too, at Bayeux, intended as an ecclesiastical decoration, has an upper and lower border, in which the recurrence of fables with the fox as principal actor is frequent. It cannot however be denied, that the various additions which the story received in its long passage to the days of Alkmaar or Baumann, may have been of a more prurient character, or in a coarser satiric vein, than the first conceptions of the fable warranted, although it must be allowed that, for its age, the low German version is remarkably pure and chaste: in this respect, greatly above the tales of Chaucer, or the odes of Shakespeare. Yet indecency even was no insuperable objection to church decoration of the period: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were also pressed into the service of Christian embellishment, almost as soon as his obscenities were resuscitated from the ignorance of the dark ages: witness the cathedral at Rouen, as we learn from the above-mentioned *Bulletin Monumental*, tom. viii, p. 454. When a number of archæologists, in a congress at that city, 20th July 1844, visited the cathedral,—

"Elle visita ensuite le portail des libraires, à l'extrémité nord du transept. Cette entrée de l'église est ornée d'un nombre infini des bas-reliefs; les uns représentant des traits de l'histoire sainte, les autres des sujets grotesques et des *obscena*. M. A. Potier en a fait remarquer quelques-uns qu'il pense avoir été inspirés par la lecture des Métamorphoses d'Ovide, découvertes à l'époque où ils furent exécutés."

There is no discrepancy then in point of *subject in general:* and therefore, lastly, as to the figures bearing out *more especially* the story of Reynard as we receive it in the earliest versions. In the border before us we have every principal actor of the oldest story. On the extreme left

Nobel the lion sits, with the glaive or battle-axe, in newer paintings changed to the rod or sceptre, in sign of his regal authority. The next, Henne Hennick the hen, is an important personage in the earliest and oldest part of the tale of which *Cock Robin* and his death is a nursery adaptation. Book I, chap. 4, relates: "Wo de Hune mit groter Bedröffnisse vor den Köninck kümpt and klaget auer Reynken und bewyset syne Missethat". The murder of her dear daughter Krassenoth is very neatly told, and I wish space would permit me to adduce the quaint epitaph on the marble tombstone, "Mit groten Boeckstauen darup gehauwen". We then have the cat, whom Reynard got entangled into a noose, by persuading her to enter into a hole "where was great store of mice", with other escapades practised against her. The serpent follows, whose episode of being rescued by a man out of a sack, is an important part of the moral. The trinode enlacement in the square may have been the surplusage necessary to fill up the space. Next appears Bruen the bear, led, as I take it, by Rüstereule or Armstrong, with the necessary thick cudgel, which he used pretty freely after the stupid beast had been induced by Reynard to thrust its snout and paws into a cleft oak, hoping to find therein many rich honeycombs. Lastly, to finish all, comes the great culprit, "the mighty mover of all harms", in the guise under which he worked his wiles most effectually,—as a pilgrim bearing the staff which gave countenance and consistency to his hypocritical averments of penitence and prayer. We have, book I, cap. xxxiv:

> Alsüs ginck Reynke uth dem Haue
> Seer groth in des Köninges lauve
> Mit synem Rentzel & Staue
> Den rechten wegh na dem hilligen Graue.

Which may be literally rendered:

> Thus Reynard left the court of the king,
> To such grace himself none other could bring;
> With wallet and staff he hastens to Rome,
> And thence to Jerusalem's holy tomb.

I leave it to others to determine whether such allusions to the then fashionable pilgrimages of the day, perhaps to

the tomb of Christ in the sculpture immediately above, may have had part influence with the carver in the choice of the non-scriptural parts of the embellishment: to those of such an opinion it must be an additional corroboration of my views.

The figures on the sculpture suit the apologue exactly, and I know no other in which any equally near conformity could be found. For these reasons, and since the objections as to time and subject have been removed, I think we may justly regard this curious font as an early instance of secular fables used for church discipline, and perhaps *as the very earliest document, graphic or epistolary*, of the myth of *Reynard the Fox*, which we subsequently find pervading the whole of northern Europe; this may be more fully seen in the excellent analysis of Grimm and other foreign annotators on the work, by W. J. Thoms, esq., F.S.A., in the Preface to his reprint of Caxton's edition for the Percy Society, 1844. The very name of Reynart, or Reyncke its diminutive, is suggestive of morality rather than of satire, to which the later versions, as we now have them, are twisted. Grimm (vide Thoms' Preface, p. xx) supposed it a contraction of Reginhart, in which I beg leave to differ from so great an authority; a more obvious is also a more rational derivation; in modern hoch Deutsch, *rein*—pure, clean, (the parent of our English *rinse*, and derived from *rinne*, a chink in which *running* water flows, the ῥεω of the Greeks, whence the rivers Rhine and Rhone), with *hertz*, or platt deutch *hert*, heart: its true meaning, therefore, is *rein-hert*, or *pure in spirit*, and capable consequently either of an early serious, or subsequent ironical, application.

Upon however referring to Allen's work, *ut supra*, I find a circumstance stated, from which perhaps something additionally illustrative of this font might be discovered. Speaking of the windows of Kirkburn church, Allen there says: "Above all, supporting the roof, *is a most singular sculptured block cornice*, in fine preservation." The diligence of my quondam townsman can only be equalled by his archæological zeal; and if I point out therefore this object to his attention and pencil, he may be assured that I do so only in the interests of his favourite study, satisfied that the short transit by rail to the sacred edifice will be thought

nothing of, if a chance exist that by a comparison with this probably kindred sculpture he can throw additional light upon so interesting an object, which he has laboured so successfully to place prominently before the public.

ON MONUMENTAL FIGURES DISCOVERED AT WANBOROUGH, WILTS.

BY F. A. CARRINGTON, ESQ.

In the autumn of the year 1848, I visited the church of Wanborough, in Wiltshire, which appeared to have been built in the fourteenth century. It is a rather remarkable object, on an eminence to the south of the Great Western railway, between the Shrivenham and Swindon stations.

It appears to have a square tower at the west end, and a tall spire at the east end; though I believe the latter is only a turret for a sanctus bell, put up over that part of the church which adjoins the chancel.

The rev. vicar (Mr. Etty) showed me two monumental figures of the size of life. They were much broken, and were dug up in 1843, just within the north-west part of the church, on the occasion of some repairs. The figures were buried face downwards, about a foot below the church floor.

No inscription, no heraldic device, and no tradition at all, suggested anything as to the persons represented.

I told Mr. Etty I thought that the costume

was of the reign of Edward the First or Second, and that if we made no mistake as to the costume, I could probably find out to whose memory the monument was set up; as in a very small place like Wanborough, there would not be more than one considerable family; and that by the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, and other works of the Record Commission, I should ascertain who had the manor, or an estate there, in the reigns of the first and second Edward.

I referred to Mr. Planché's second edition of his most valuable work on costume; but before doing so, I told Mr. Etty, that as the lady was on the dexter side, she was probably an heiress, or some person of greater rank than her husband.

The style of the gentleman's hair in the engraving at page 130 (a) of Mr. Planché's work, and the wimple at pages 147 (d) and 159, confirmed my notions as to the date. And from the entries in the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, and the *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, I am induced to suggest, that these figures represent Emelina Longespee, daughter of Stephen Longespee, justiciar of Ireland, and grand-daughter of William Longespee, who is buried in Salisbury cathedral, and whose effigy is given in Mr. Planché's work on costume, page 129; the gentleman being Maurice Fitzmaurice, her husband.

In a few days after seeing the figures, I consulted the works of the Record Commission, in the Town-hall of Marlborough. In the calendar of the *Inquisitiones post Mortem et Escaebarum*, 19 Edward I (p. 107), is this entry:

"No. 91. Emelina de Longespeye pro cantaria facienda *Wamberge* terr." &c. } Wiltes.

In the *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, 20 Edward I (p. 286), is an entry of a release: "Emeline Lungespeye, *quondā ux.* Mauricii fil. Maur. de Hibernia", to Adam de Creting and Juliana his wife, relating to the castle and half the manor of Hadrahin, "in com. conacie", in Ireland.

And in the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, of 6 Edward III (page 49), I find this entry:

"No. 43. Emelina Longespee,

Denford maner . . . Berks.

Wamberg maner . } Wiltes.
Stepellavynton maner" }

From these entries it is to be inferred, that Emeline Longespee, in 19 Edward I, founded a chantry at Wanborough; that in 20 Edward II, she, though the widow of Maurice Fitz Maurice, used her maiden name, and that she died possessed of the manor of Wanborough, 6 Edward III.

I do not find any other person's name connected with Wanborough at this period in any of these records.

I have since seen in the British Museum the counterpart of a grant by William Longespee to his brother Stephen, of the manor of Wanborough. It has a good impression of the seal of Stephen Longespee, in green wax, with the arms—six lions rampant, three, two, and one, and over them a label of four points.

If I am wrong as to the date of the costume, of course all I have said amounts to nothing; but where the date of the costume is well ascertained, it would seem that in small places (it will not do in cathedrals and abbeys) figures may be often identified where inscriptions, heraldic devices, and traditions, are all wanting.

In the year 1849, I visited the church of Winterborne Basset, which is seven miles and a half north-west of Marlborough. The whole parish is only one farm and the rectory. In its little church I found two recumbent figures, that of the lady on the dexter side, and she is holding the gentleman by the hand.

I thought that the costume of these figures was of the reign of Edward the First or Second; and I find that in the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, of 9 Edward I, No. 9, there is an entry which shows that this manor, together with the adjoining manor of Berwick and estates in twenty-five other places, belonged to Alina la Despencer, who was the heiress of Philip Bassett, and the wife of Hugh le Despencer. Is this the monument of Alina and her husband?

I was favoured by the rev. E. Meyrick, the vicar of Chiseldon, with a very accurate drawing of the figures at Wanborough, but I have not yet obtained a drawing of the figures at Winterborne Bassett.

I have mentioned that the church at Wanborough appears to have a square tower at the west end, and a pointed spire at the east end. This is accounted for in the neigh-

bourhood by the tradition, that this church was built by two maiden ladies, who were sisters, and they could not agree as to whether the church should have a tower or a spire, and they therefore resolved to build a tower at one end and a spire at the other. Unfortunately for the tradition, I found in the north wall of the tower on the inside a brass, desiring prayers for the soul of Philip Polton, archdeacon of Gloucester, his father, mother, brothers, and sisters; master Everard, the vicar, and all who contributed to build this campanile; and on this plate there is a date, temp. Edward IV.

The father and mother of the archdeacon Polton are buried at Wanborough; and two very good brasses, temp. Edward IV, are on their grave-stone. The archdeacon is buried in the chapel of All Souls' college, Oxford; and I am told that a headless brass still marks his grave, with the date 1461. The father and mother of the archdeacon were named, I think, Thomas and Edyth; and he died in 1418.

Much information as to the family of Longespee will be found in the rev. Canon Bowles' work on Lacock abbey. He states, from the book of Lacock abbey, that Emelina Longespee died in 1331 (page 156). The *Inquisition* of 6 Edward III, must have been taken between January 25, 1332, and January 25, 1333.

NOTE BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A.

Sandford, in his *Genealogical History*, book ii, chap. 2, says: "Stephen Longespee, third son (of William, first earl of Salisbury), was appointed chief-justice of Ireland by king Henry the Third. He took to wife Emelina countess of Ulster, in whose rights he was earl of Ulster, and by her had issue his *only* childe Ela Longespee, married to Roger de la Zouche." But in the Lacock Book we find this entry. "Stephanus Longespee . . . justiciarium in Hibernia et dominus capitalis erat ordinatus, duxit in uxorem Emelinam comitiss. de Vlton. per quam erat comes de Vlton. genuit ex ea (1) Elam de la Souch quam duxit Rogerus de la Souche, de qua Alanus, etc." (2) *Emelinam* quæ *nupsit Mauritio filio Mauritii*, fol. 19, b.

The other effigy to which Mr. Carrington alludes as that of Alina le Despencer, is, if rightly appropriated, an additional illustration of the family of Longespee, as Ela Longespee, second daughter of William first earl of Salisbury, and sister to the aforesaid Stephen, after the death of her first husband, Thomas de Neuburgh earl of Warwick, married secondly, Philip Basset, son of William Basset, chief-justice of England, as appears by a charter of the said Philip and Ela, bearing date the 47th of Henry III. So that the Alina, heiress of Philip Basset and wife of Hugh le Despencer, was either her daughter or step-daughter: but query, is this Alina *Basset*, or Alina (Eleanor) *de Clare*, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, the Red, who was the wife of Hugh Lord le Despencer, *the younger* and great-grandmother of Thomas first earl of Gloucester of that name? In either case, these discoveries are most valuable additions to the already known sepulchral effigies of Great Britain and Ireland, and Mr. Carrington's communication is deserving of the best thanks of the Society.

ON AN INSCRIPTION AND FIGURES AT GOODRICH CASTLE, HEREFORDSHIRE.

BY CHARLES BAILY, ESQ., F.S.A.

The practice of cutting names, dates, and marks, appears to have been quite as prevalent formerly as at the present day. In the thirteenth volume of the *Archæologia*, is a paper by the rev. John Brand, describing several such cuttings in the Tower of London, made by persons prominent in English history; for by the help of the public records Mr. Brand has discovered by whom many of these markings were executed.

Many of the rudely cut dates with which the tombs and monuments in Westminster abbey are covered, are as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. On the

PLATE IV

wall of the south aisle of the nave of St. Alban's abbey, are names and sentences which cannot be later than the fourteenth century; and others exist in the music gallery of Exeter cathedral, of nearly as early a date. The walls of one of the apartments of the Gate-house of St. Alban's abbey, which is now used as a gaol, is covered with quaint cuttings; I particularly remember one, of a very early form of shoe, and several others formed like the so-called merchants' marks.

I now wish to call the attention of the Association to some cuttings which still remain at Goodrich castle, Herefordshire, which were first pointed out to me by our learned associate, Mr. Abraham Kirkmann, upon the occasion of the visit of the Association to the late sir Samuel Meyrick's, during the Gloucester congress. I again visited Goodrich castle in the spring of 1850, when the fac-simile drawings now exhibited were made.

These figures are upon the inner jambs of two of the windows of the south-eastern tower, and they consist of an inscription in raised letters of the form in use in the fourteenth century, figures of men, birds, and animals.

Fig. 1, on plate IV, is the figure of a man habited as a falconer, in the costume of the time of Richard II, wearing on his right hand a glove, upon which he carries a falcon. The figure is belted, and at his left side is suspended a pouch, or purse; beneath this is the figure of a dog. Fig. 2 is a falcon striking a bird with a long tail, apparently a pheasant: the falcon is shown with bells attached to its feet; under this is the figure of a peacock (fig. 3); and two rabbits at play (fig. 4). Fig. 5 is a stag couchant, and a swan. Fig. 6, a representation of the Virgin and Child.

It may be well to state the different opinions which have been held concerning these figures. The late rev. T. D. Fosbroke, M.A., F.S.A., etc., in the *Wye Tour*, at page 20, says:—"As both inscription and figures are in relief, and the edges of the blocks flush with their fellow stones, without any hollow in the middle, they were manifestly cut before putting up, made with regular tools by workmen, and are not coeval with the fabric: one of the blocks furnishes a clue. Upon it are the figures of a hart couchant, and a swan, close to each other; a pretty broad

hint, for the first, was the badge or cognizance of Richard II, and the other of Henry IV. The latter, being then earl of Derby, etc., a subject, was here on a visit at the time his son (Henry V) was born at Monmouth, and made a great feast upon the occasion at this castle.

"It was usual," he continues, "upon the visits of great men, to put their arms in stained glass, in the hall windows, and use other modes of commemoration.

"To this visit and feast, the inscription and figures seem to allude. The man with the hawk on his fist, the symbol of nobility, and dressed in the costume of Henry's era, is apparently intended for Henry himself; and his lady with her new-born child, according to a custom quite common, is personified by the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus."

Mr. Fosbroke continues:—"*Sumtuarius* signifies he *qui erogat sumptus*, or who lays out the money. If, therefore, the inscription be read, MASTR (*magister*) SUMT(*uarius*) ADAM HASTUN, the meaning will be that, Adam Hastun, *head steward*, or *magister sumtuarius*, caused these figures to be put up, in commemoration of the visit alluded to, this room being that in which the royal guest was lodged.

"Add to this, that the form of the letters are of Henry's era."

This may be considered ingenious, but such an opinion cannot be admitted, as no part of the cuttings, except the hart and the swan, can in any way relate either to Richard II, or Henry IV; and if of the latter, while earl of Derby, he wished in any way to commemorate his visit to Goodrich castle, the inscription would surely have borne his name, rather than that of Adam Hastun, whether head steward or not; besides, no such word as *sumt* is to be seen on the stone. If the figures and inscription had been executed by regular workmen with proper tools before the stones were placed in their present situations, we should not then see the blunders and the evident attempts at corrections. The figures are slightly in relief, the stones being hollowed out in the centres to obtain such relief. The inscription reads, MASTR (master); then there has been an attempt to cut the name ADAM, but the A has been left out; this has been corrected by placing the letter A over the D. The writer was evidently dissatisfied with

this, for in the second line he has again cut the name ADAM; and the third line is very plainly HASTUNS, or, as we now call it, Hastings. It is therefore simply a name, *Master Adam Hastings*, and is most probably the name of him who cut either a part or the whole of the figures, and who was perhaps at some time a prisoner in this part of the fortress.

Mr. Kirkmann agrees with me in this reading, and I am happy to give his opinion upon another point. In a letter to me he states:—"I think the cuttings are of the time of Richard II, and this opinion seems confirmed by the stag and the swan, both badges of that sovereign, and that they were executed by the same person as you have conjectured; but the art of writing at all was so rare in those days, ex-

cept amongst churchmen, that I am inclined to doubt whether he was not a secular vicar of the Hastings family, who had made himself busy in the family feuds, and got into trouble. The term *Master*, *Magister*, *Dominus*, etc., etc., would suit such a person well enough, and the name Adam is unusual in the middle ages, except when given to a person expressly designed for the church. It is possible, however, to have been the expenditure of the idle time of the castle chaplain himself during its possession by the Hastings family; but this conjecture would seem rebutted by their occurrence in other state prisons, although that particular tower having been a state prison rests on no authority that I know of."[1]

I shall conclude these brief notes by stating, that the late sir Samuel Meyrick endeavoured to read a date in the inscription. He read the A above the D in the first line, for *Anno*; the DV as DN for Domini; the M, which is somewhat below the other letters, for one thousand, and fancied four C's for four hundred had once existed; the S, which is somewhat away from the other letters in the name in the third line, he read as meaning *Seneschall.*

The figure in the margin shows a failure in endeavouring to cut the same falconer shown on plate IV, fig. 1.

The whole perhaps may have resulted from an attempt to represent a scene observed by the prisoner from the window.

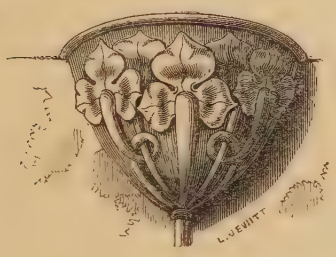
In connexion with Goodrich castle, the Association has been favoured with the following interesting communication:—

[1] Mr. Kirkmann will most probably make a further communication to the Association respecting the marks.

ON PISCINAS IN THE CHAPEL OF GOODRICH CASTLE.

BY CAPT. AUGUSTUS W. H. MEYRICK.

With the permission of the Association, I beg leave to introduce to their notice drawings of the Piscinas, in the chapel of Goodrich castle, Herefordshire. When taken they were quite perfect, but, I regret to say, they are not so now. They were probably constructed about the time of Henry VI, when the chapel was thoroughly repaired, if not re-built; and as they are put amongst the best specimens of the elegant designs of those days, the Association may deem them not unworthy of being rescued from oblivion, to which, I should much fear, they will otherwise be consigned, ere a very few more years have passed over us.



REMARKS ON
RECENT RESEARCHES AT CAERLEON, CIRENCESTER, ON THE ROMAN WALL, AND IN SCOTLAND.

BY CHARLES ROACH SMITH, ESQ., F.S.A.

The object of the following observations is to draw the attention of members of the Association to some particular local investigations, which have not hitherto been brought under their notice.

Caerleon.—On a former occasion I communicated some notes on the antiquities of Caerleon, and referred to excavations, then pending, in the grounds of Mr. John Jenkins, near the town. Mr. Lee has now favoured us with a printed report[1] (copiously illustrated by etchings), which embraces a review of discoveries made up to the last year.

One of the most important additions to the historical materials previously collected at, and in the vicinity of, Caerleon, is a monumental inscription found at Pil Bach, not far from the town, near the place where two tessellated pavements were lately discovered. It reads as follows:—D.M.TADIA VALLAVNIVS VIXIT ANNOS LXV ET TADIUS EXUPERTUS FILIUS VIXIT ANNOS XXXVII DEFUNTUS EXPEDITIONE GERMANICA.TADIA EXUPERATA FILIA MATRI ET FRATRI PIISIMA SECUS TUMULUM PATRIS POSUIT.—That is to say, the stone was erected by Tadia Exuperata, to the memory of Tadia Vallaunia (the masculine termination being a mason's blunder), her mother, aged sixty-five; and to Tadius Exuperatus, her brother, aged thirty-seven, who died in the German expedition. The monument was placed by the dedicatrix nigh to the grave of her father.

Mr. Lee remarks that, "two different interpretations may be given of the words *defunctus expeditione Germanica*. "The first would render them—'served, or performed his part in the German expedition': the other would translate them,—'died in the German expedition'. Though there are objections to the last interpretation, yet, on the whole, it seems the more probable: in this case the tomb would merely be a cenotaph to his manes." There can be no doubt of this latter being the correct rendering of the word *defunctus*, or, as often spelt in such inscriptions, *defuntus*. Numerous instances might be cited from sepulchral monuments, as: 1, *filio defuncto;* 2, *conjugi sanctissimæ defunctæ et sibi vivus fecit;* 3, *genitus in Asia Thralis, defunctus Augustæ Trevirorum*, etc.[2] There is nothing in the inscription to guide us in deciding to which of the several German expeditions it refers; but it is extremely probable that, were the spot excavated, the *tumulus patris* might be discovered,

[1] Description of a Roman building and other remains lately discovered at Caerleon. By John Edward Lee. 8vo. London: J. R. Smith, 1850.

[2] See "Codex Inscriptionum Romanorum Rheni", von Dr. Steiner, Darmstadt, 1837.

and from it some data might be gathered to supply the deficiency in this inscription.

In the churchyard of the town has been dug up a fragment of an inscription, which was originally of considerable length, and referred to some public building which had gone to decay, and had been restored by Severus and his son Geta. "The letters are very sharply cut, and evidently have been chiselled by a good artist; they have been coloured with minium, or red paint, which was very distinct when the stone was first taken up, and even now is still visible." They are thus shewn:

· · CAESARES · L · SEPTI · ·
· · VG · ///// SEPTIMIVS · ·
· · ORRVPTVM · · ·

As Mr. Lee observes, from a comparison of the space which would have been occupied by the letters wanting to complete the imperial title and also the name of Severus, it appears probable that the name of Caracalla has not been mentioned, and therefore we may suppose the omission suggested by Geta himself, while he superintended the affairs of the south of Britain, during the absence of his father and brother in the campaign in the north. After the death of Geta, Caracalla ordered his name to be erased from the public inscriptions, and they are to be noticed in numerous instances with the proscribed portions chiselled out; it appears that an attempt had been made to erase the name from this stone, and three of the letters are partially defaced, but the hardness of the stone caused the workman to give up his task incompleted. Inscriptions relating to Severus and his family are by far the most numerous of the imperial series. One for the health of Severus, Antoninus, and Geta, which was published in Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, p. 108, has lately been restored to Caerleon, and is now in the museum there. The advent of Severus and his sons to Britain is alluded to by the inscription on the monument at Grosskrotzenburg,[1] erected for their health, victory, and return.

To these inscriptions may be added one reading PRIMVS· TESSERA, *Primus Tesserarius*. The Tesserarius was an officer of subordinate rank, who communicated the watch-word

[1] Codex Inscrip. Rom. Rheni. No. 213.

from the commander to the army. The word does not seem to have been noticed before in any inscription found in this country. A fragment of a sepulchral stone may also be just referred to as having a rough scoring, which may bear some resemblance to the palm branch on some of the early Christian monuments found in the catacombs of Rome. Although, from the form of the letters, it is most probably of very late date, and although the letters D·M. usually prefixed to pagan epitaphs, were retained in some instances on decided Christian monuments, this fragment will not be received as an exception to the general rule of the total absence in England of those primitive Christian inscriptions, such as abound on the continent; an important fact which materially affects the question of the date of the period when Christianity had taken root in Britain.

Among the chief discoveries at Caerleon connected with domestic architecture, are some carved stone wall facings and antefix tiles. Some of the minor works of art, such as the ivory carvings, will be regarded with interest; while the low price at which the etchings are published, should ensure them a place on the shelf of every antiquary.

Cirencester.—In the midst of the modern streets and houses of Cirencester, accident has brought to light some valuable remains of the domestic buildings of the Roman city; and to the exertions of professor Buckman, Mr. Newmarch, Mr. Cox, and earl Bathurst, the public is indebted for the preservation of some beautiful tessellated pavements, which have been published by Messrs. Buckman and Newmarch with great fidelity and effect, by the aid of Mr. Delamotte and the talbotype.[1] It is quite impossible to convey any notion of the richness and chaste designs of these works without coloured engravings. They may be classed among the very best examples of this peculiar art now extant in this country. Fully to appreciate them and their peculiarities, it is necessary to be acquainted with analogous remains on the continent; but unhappily the numerous archæological societies in Italy, in Germany, in Spain, and in France, as well as their publications, are almost totally unknown in England, while there is a spirit of exclusiveness, more or

[1] Illustrations of the Remains of Roman art in Cirencester. By Professor Buckman, F.L.S., F.G.S., etc.; and C. H. Newmarch, esq. London and Cirencester. 4to. 1850.

less extended in our home institutions, which restricts the researches of the archæologist to his own country, and proscribes the rich remains which lie spread over the vast regions separated from our comparatively small tract of land by a few miles of sea. The farther we travel towards the south, the more important and abundant are the remains of antiquity; and objects which in England are brought before us in a fragmentary state, or in rude types, we there see in more perfect condition, and can understand and appreciate their original design. One of the newly-discovered Cirencester pavements in general design may be compared with one at Pompeii, to which, however, it must be considered inferior. The spirited female heads of Ceres, Pomona, and Flora, bear a very close resemblance to those engraved in plate XVIII of the "Mosaïques de Lyon et des départemens méridionaux de la France expliquées", especially the head of Ceres.[1]

The reports on the analysis of the materials of the tessellæ, and of the ruby-coloured glass, are some of the most valuable contributions to archæology, and will be referred to by all who are desirous of knowing the state of the arts in Roman-Britain, and the perfection to which many processes, erroneously supposed of modern invention, had been carried.

One of the large pavements was constructed half upon pilæ, and half upon a solid foundation. There is nothing very remarkable in this arrangement, and it will not, I think, countenance the notion that the room served the twofold purpose of a *triclinium hybernum*, and of a *triclinium æstivum;* nor can we suppose that the designs upon the floors had any reference whatever to the uses of the rooms.

Professor Buckman and Mr. Newmarch, it may be announced, intend resuming their researches. They have the advantage of working in perhaps the most fertile antiquarian district in England, and they may safely reckon upon being well remunerated. The neighbourhood of Watermore, where the Roman sepulchral monuments were discovered; the nursery grounds of Mr. Gregory, where capitals of columns and other architectural remains were dug up; and the amphitheatre, offer tempting inducements to excavate; and it is to be hoped that no petty jealousy

[1] A public museum for local antiquities is much wanted at Cirencester.

or civic narrow-mindedness will be allowed to thwart our active and zealous friends in their explorations.

Roman Wall.—The valuable paper which was read by the rev. J. C. Bruce, at the Chester congress, and of which an abstract has appeared in the *Journal*, has now made its appearance in a very amplified state, and is illustrated with numerous engravings.[1] The Roman wall, although it is perhaps the most stupendous monument of the Roman epoch which our country possesses, is comparatively but little known; and the descriptions of it hitherto published afford but a very inadequate notion of its extent and construction, as well as of the chain of castella and castra attached to and flanking it, and of the great vallum running parallel throughout its course. Mr. Bruce has surveyed and re-surveyed these vast remains, extending some sixty miles in length; he has planned and sketched the castra, noted their architectural peculiarities, and the monuments and antiquities found in and about them, and pointed out where they are now preserved,—thus giving a circumstantial account of the present state of this great and interesting series of remains, which will be found of immense use, not only to those who may be induced to visit and examine the wall, but also to those who may desire to be better acquainted by their own firesides with national memorials of such historical importance. It is from the line of this great wall that numerous inscriptions, throwing considerable light on the Roman military transactions in Britain, have been collected. Now it must be apparent to all who read Mr. Bruce's narrative, that if systematic excavations were carried on in the castra, others would be recovered from the *débris* of public and private edifices which lie buried beneath the soil. The greater portion of those now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, and in private collections, have been brought to light by accident; while there can be but little doubt that hundreds thus dug up have been broken to pieces and used as building materials. A full exploration of the remains along the wall would be a work of public benefit, and confer honour upon those who may institute or assist

[1] The Roman Wall: a historical, topographical, and descriptive account of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus, extending from the Tyne to the Solway. By the rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, M.A. 8vo. London and Newcastle, 1851.

in such an undertaking. It is already rumoured that a noble duke contemplates making such a research forthwith; and there is reason to believe that rumour, in this instance, is not without good foundation. It is also to be hoped, that Mr. Bruce's labours will be further seconded by some liberal individual, or by some society, with a view to procure for us an account of the great Roman fortification upon the left bank of the Danube, called the Devil's Wall, running, as is stated, in an unbroken line, more than one hundred and fifty Roman miles, and measuring from five to six feet in thickness, and in many places five feet above the present surface. We have no detailed account of this great work and of the inscriptions and monuments discovered along its line.[1]

Scottish Antiquities.—Scotland, a country the early monuments of which have been but loosely described and little attended to, has secured in Mr. Daniel Wilson an able and zealous expositor of her antiquities. He has chosen a field of research which has been particularly destitute of scientific labourers; and the elaborate and well classified work[2] which he has just given us, shews how well he has performed his self-imposed but difficult task. According to the arrangement of the antiquaries of the north, he has divided his materials into four divisions, namely, the primeval or stone period; the archaic or bronze period; the Teutonic or iron period; and the Christian period. Under these divisions, Mr. Wilson has brought together immense sequences of objects, many of which will be rather novel to the southern antiquary, while in all he will find valuable matter for comparison.

For the present, I must content myself with noticing some new Roman inscriptions which Mr. Wilson has discovered. They are chiefly dedications by the Tungrian cohorts, and by the Nervii, and were discovered in Annandale, in the locality including the stations of Birrens and Birrenswork Hill. In the part of my *Collectanea Antiqua* just published, I have drawn the attention of English anti-

[1] Dr. W. Bell, who is preparing a notice of this wall for the *Journal*, informs me that no German work he has consulted gives any engraving in illustration of this great fortification.

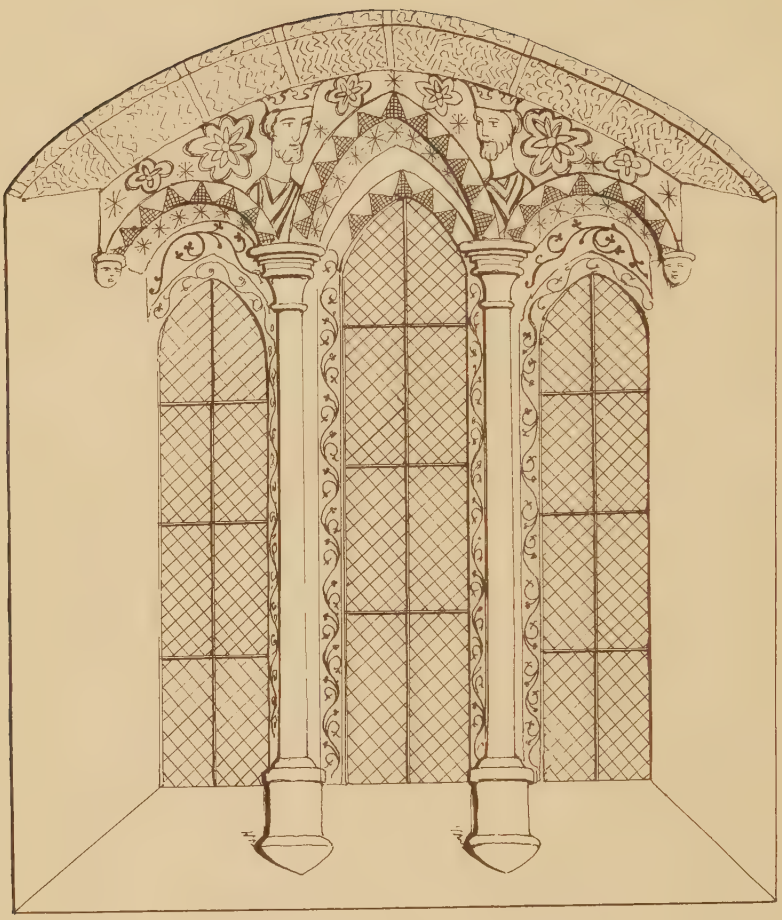
[2] The Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland. By Daniel Wilson, honorary secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. 8vo. Edinburgh and London, 1851. It is illustrated by two hundred and one engravings.

quaries to inscriptions discovered on the Rhine, relating to the Caledonian Britons quartered there. Among the numerous auxiliary soldiers serving in Britain with the legions, were several cohorts drawn from Gaul and Germany; and, among these, the Tungri were conspicuous. They are mentioned by Tacitus with the Batavi, serving under Agricola; and, by the *Notitia*, a cohort appears to have been stationed on the line of the great wall upwards of three centuries after, towards the latest period of the occupation of Britain by the Romans. Two cohorts of the Nervii were also in North Britain at the time of the compilation of the *Notitia*.

In connexion with the second cohort of the Tungri, one of the inscriptions referred to gives the name (unfortunately incomplete) of a divinity which I am unable to identify in our mythological catalogue. This inscription is as follows:

DEAE RICAG^{M}
BEDAE PAGVS
VELLAVSMILIT
COH II TVNG
V · S · L · M.

and the meaning, I think, would be, that Vellaus, a soldier of the second cohort of the Tungri, dedicated, in discharge of a vow, a tablet to the goddess indicated in the first line of the dedication, who, as is gathered from the second line, was a topical divinity, presiding over the *Beda Pagus*, a district on the line of the Roman road from Treves to Cologne, now called Bitburg. What the name of the goddess may have been, we cannot positively say; but as there was a station or town in that region, called *Rigomagus* or *Ricomagus*, it is not improbable that it may have been *Ricamaga*. The orthography in such inscriptions, as is well known, is frequently very loose and defective; and in that under consideration, *Pagus* stands for *Pagi*, and *milit.* for *miles*.



Window in Wellow Church.

ON SOME DECORATIONS IN WELLOW CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.

BY J. G. WALLER, ESQ.

The removal of whitewash from the walls of so many of our village churches has uncovered so much of the ancient decoration during the last few years, that our knowledge of the principles which governed the artists has received considerable and important additions. Nevertheless, circumstances prevent us from obtaining complete examples, and this renders any further additions, however small, very acceptable, if they only prove how universally the medieval artists painted their architecture. The window, which forms the subject of our engraving (see pl. v), and for which we are indebted to the zeal of our active correspondent, F. J. Baigent, esq., of Winchester, is at the east end of the church of Wellow, in Hampshire, and is of the early English style, and consists of three lights; the drawing has been taken from the interior, shewing the divisions between the lights to consist of columns of Purbeck marble. The splaying of the jambs is wide and deep, which is a marked feature of the period, and greatly assists the effect of the architecture by the greater depth of light and shade thereby obtained. The columns are tall and of graceful proportion, and support a lancet-shaped arch,—that covering the two other lights being segmental; both the soffit and archivolt are decorated,—the latter by an indented pattern alternately red and white. In the spandrils between the arches are painted, in one colour, red (probably executed with common red ochre), two crowned heads; the background powdered with very rude representations of stars.

It is not possible in compositions containing so little to ascertain the artist's intention; it is, however, probable, that a portion of the genealogy of Christ might be indicated, and these heads part only of a series.

A graceful scroll ornament runs down each side the mullions or divisions between each light, and gives a com-

pleteness to the whole design. It is executed in the same coarse red colour, a common red earth, and is in distemper, like all the old work found in our country churches. The design has a pleasing effect, notwithstanding rude materials and execution, and it shews what may be done in decoration, with very small means and without any elaborate theory.

The wood-cut is from an encaustic tile in the same church, exhibiting the upper part of an archbishop "in pontificalibus". He holds the crosier in his left hand—the right being elevated in the act of benediction; the mitre is very low, shewing it to belong to the thirteenth century; portions of a canopy remain, which seems to indicate that it is part of an extensive design, of which this is but a small portion. It is most likely that the figure of St. Thomas à Becket is intended, and originally, no doubt, the pavement contained a series of saints disposed in niches.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. I.

Albert Woods, esq., F.S.A., Lancaster Herald, has kindly communicated to the council the following curious version of the Lathom or Stanley legend of the Eagle and Child, copied from a manuscript in the College of Arms (Hare's MSS., vol. ii), and differing, in several important details, from that in the metrical history of bishop Stanley, and the other legends reported by Seacome. The handwriting is presumed to be of a date as early as Henry VIII, certainly of the first half of the sixteenth century; and the indignant scribe has headed it, "The false fable of the lord Lathom: a feigned tale," showing that the story was not received implicitly, even in those days.

THE FAUSE FABLE OF THE LO. LATHAM. A FAYNED TALE.

When the warre was twyx the yngleshmen and the yrychmen, the puyssance of the ynglech so sore assawltied the ireshe men y^{t} the kyng of them beyng of yrland, was constrayned to take socore by flyght in to other parties for hys salvegard: and the queyn, beyng pregnaunt and grosse w^{h} chyd ryght neyr hur tyme of deliv'raunce, for dreid of the rudnes of comynaltye toke hur flyght in to wyldernes, wher hur chaunce was to suffre travayle of chyld, bryngyng forth ij chylders, the oone a sonn, the other a doghter; when after by naturall compoltion she and such gentlewomen as was w^{h} hur was constrayned to sleip, in so much y^{t} the ij chyldres wer raveshed from the mother, and other keps the doght' as hit ys sayd in yrcland w^{h} the fayrre. In so much y^{t} ageinst the tyme of death of any of y^{t} blood of Stanleys, she makyth a c'tayn noye in oone quart' of yreland wher she usyth.

The sonn takyn & borne away w^{t} an egle and broght in to lancashyre in to a park callyd Lathum parke, wher as dyd dwell a c'tayn lord named the lord Lathum, the which lord Lathum walkyng in his parke hard a childe lamente & crye, p'seyved the skyrts of y^{e} mantell lyyng over the nest syde, & maide hys s'vn'ts to bryngg downe the chyld unto hym.

And wher as booth he and hys wyf beyng in farre age, and she past conseyvyng of chyld, consederyng they never cowth have yssu, rekenyng y^{t} gode send thys chyld by meracle, they condescendyd to make thys chyld theyr ayre, and so dyd. At length this lord lathum and hys wyffe disceased, and this yong man, which was named Oskell of lathum reyned

& rulyd this land as ryght ayre, and he hadde to yssue a doghter which was hys ayre & chuld be the lady lathum.

Hit chaunced so that oon Stanley, beyng a yongre brother of the howse of Wolton in Cheschire, was s'v^{a}nt to thabbott of Westchestre, thys yong man Stanley was carver to thabbott, and he wold not breik his fast onn the Sonday tyll he hade hard the highe masse. In so much y^{t} hit chaunced oone Sonday when the meit was served oon the table he had so gret hongre he carved the piggs heid and conveyed oone of the erys of the pigge & dyd eyte hit.

When thabbot sat downe & p'chaunce myssed thys pyggs eyre he was myscontent and in great fume, and revyled so extremlye & so haynowslye thys yong Stanley, y^{t} he thrwe the napkyn at hys heid & said he wold do hym no more s'vyce and dep'ted.

And cam to the kings court and obtayned hie cervyse, & proved so actyve a feloow y^{t} the renowne sprangge and enflamedd upon hym; in so much y^{t} the fame and brute descendyd from hym envyron thys realme

And when, as thuse then was, that noble adventurers wold serche their fortune and chaunce in to dyv's and straunge nations, oon renowned galaund cam in to Ingland, & he callyd as chalenger for death & liffe com who lyst.

In so much y^{t} the kyng comaunded thys Stanley to coope w^{h} hym, & to mak short p'testation his chaunce was to over throw the chalengier and optayned the victorye.

Then the kyng made hym knyght, & gave hym c'tayn landys to lyve onn. After thys forsayd Stanley cam for maryage to the doght' of Oskell of lathum, which was fond in thegles nest, and optayned hur favo^{r} and espoused hur. And then aft' the deth of Oskell he was lord lathum and enjoyed it many yeres. And for such c'vyce as he dyd afterward the kyng made hym lord Stanley, and he was the fyrst lord of the name, and so by y^{t} reason the Stanleys dyscendyd of lathum gyve thegle & chylde in armes.

According to this version, the child found in the eagle's nest was brought from Ireland, and was the son of an Irish monarch. Surely, if bishop Stanley had seen this story in manuscript, or heard it repeated, he would not have omitted an assertion so important to the consequence of his maternal ancestor, as that of his being of the blood royal of Ireland; nor would he have used the expression, "from whence the child came, the truth no man can show, neither where, nor what place, it was fetched fro'." The question therefore arises,—Was the bishop ignorant of this version of the legend; or is this version an amplification of the original story? The period at which the event is pre-

sumed to have occurred, is the middle of the fourteenth century, and the manuscripts narrating it are of the commencement of the sixteenth. To what date are we to assign the *invention of the legend?*

While on this subject, I beg to exhibit for the inspection of the society a very singular combination of the Lathom and Stanley coats, as displayed in an escutcheon depicted in a manuscript in the College of Arms, which is exceedingly rich in armorial bearings of those families, the date being the close of the fifteenth century.

Or, and three eagle or griffin's legs erased; *gules* on a chief indented *azure;* as many bucks' heads caboshed of the *first.* The Stanley badge of the eagle or griffin's leg, and of the stag's head[1] being thus displayed on the coat of Butler or Lathom without the plates. The shield is surmounted by a crest composed of an eagle's head, *or*, charged with three roundels, *azure*, or hurts, as they are called by some heralds, and holding in its beak a lion's jamb erased, *gules;* and this enables us to identify the arms as those of sir John Stanley, an illegitimate son of James Stanley bishop of Ely; for in sir Christopher Barker's book of standards, etc. (Harleian MS., No. 4362), we find the standard of that "sir John Stanley" with this crest and the motto "Merche avant".

[1] In the curious list of badges, temp. Edward IV, contained in a MS. Coll. of Arms, 2 M. 16, the lord Stanley is said to bear "a grippes leg erased gold", and sir William Stanley, "a hart hede silver".

Another interesting memorial of the Stanley family exists in a carved badge and motto on a tower at Hornby Castle, generally attributed to Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle, who built the church there; but in the opinion of others belonging to his elder brother, George Stanley, lord Strange, of Knockyn, K.G., who died during the life of his father, the first earl of Derby, being, according to the bishop's metrical history, poisoned at a banquet, Dec. 5, 1497, leaving issue by his wife, Joan, daughter of John lord Strange of Knockyn, Thomas, second earl of Derby. The badge is the eagle's claw, and the motto is usually read as "Glav (Glaive) et Gant"; and if that reading be correct, the name beneath it must certainly be read G. and not

"E. Stanley"; but there are some doubts as to the first word of the motto being Glave or Glaive, and our excellent member at Hornby, Mr. Pudsey Dawson, will feel greatly obliged by any solution of them.

In conclusion, I would mention that the manuscript in the College of Arms from which the coat of sir John Stanley is taken, displays some most ingeniously varied examples of the crest of the eagle and child, as far as the attitude of the bird is concerned, a point on which much speculation has been wasted by Seacome and others. The arms and crest of Lathom in it (vide fig. 2, p. 74) are also given in almost exact conformity with the drawing in Harl. MS., No. 2151, and engraved as fig. 8, plate XXII, of the sixth volume of the *Journal* of the Association; but it will be observed that the cradle, in the latter instances empty, is here represented by something very unlike a cradle in form and equally untenanted by an infant. It is therefore almost certain that the child is altogether an introduction to the Lathom crest of the Stanleys. J. R. PLANCHÉ.

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 15, 1851.

JAMES Clarke, esq., of Easton, communicated to the Association, that the coins found at Framlingham, and reported by him in December last, (*Journal*, vol. vi, p. 452) were purchased by the rev. Mr. Alston of that town; but being claimed by the College, they had been given up to the proper authorities.

The rev. Daniel Henry Haigh, of Erdington, made the following communication:—"When I was at Wensley, in May 1846, I took a rubbing of

the stone which is figured in my communication to the *Journal* of the Association, (vol. i, p. 196;) and whilst I was doing this, the clerk told me that there was another like it in the churchyard. He took me to see it, and I was very much interested in finding upon it the name EATBEREHT, with the same spelling (which had always struck me as being singular) as on the sceattas. On this account, and as a sort of complement to my paper on the Hartlepool tombstones, I determined to send you a drawing of it, and should have done so long ago, but, often as I looked for it, I could never find it. It turned up not long since amongst other things of the same kind — the produce of the same journey. It resembles the Hartlepool stones, in having the letters on each side of the cross; whilst it agrees with

the other Wensley stone, in having both the ✠ and letters in relief. Like two of the Hartlepool stones, it was designed to commemorate two persons, for after the name EATBEREHT, come the letters ET, and then in a third line faint traces of some other letters.

"In the same flagged path in which this stone lies, I saw others which I thought would prove to be of the same character, if I could get a sight of their under sides. I applied for leave to take them up, but could not obtain it.

"I may add, in conclusion, that the whole north and north-west of Yorkshire is a district comparatively little explored, but full of objects of interest to antiquaries, abounding in remains of every age."

Mr. Pratt of Bond-street exhibited a large and very curious painting of the fifteenth century, supposed to represent the massacre of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins at Cologne. Mr. Planché drew the attention of the meeting to one of Howell's Letters (vol. ii, letter 39, date 1644), in which he states that a picture of this description had been taken out of "a Dunkirk ship" captured near Arundel castle, in Sussex, and was exhibited publicly in the Star chamber at Westminster hall. There were some reasons to imagine that this was the identical picture: but no actual proof could be offered. It was purchased in Paris, having come

from England, and had evidently been an altar-piece, as the one mentioned by Howell is presumed to have been (vide Dallaway's Sussex, vol. ii, p. 19.) It was also of Flemish or German origin, having the heads of the donors with their names painted at the bottom of it. Some doubt as to the subject of the painting being caused by the introduction of several male victims, including a pope, Mr. C. Lynch favoured the Association with the following communication:

"I beg leave to offer a few observations on the painting exhibited at our last meeting. The subject was supposed to be 'the Martyrdom of the eleven thousand virgins at Cologne'; but some doubts existed on the point in consequence of the apparent martyrdom of a pope and other male personages.

"An investigation of the history of St. Ursula and her companions enables me to conclude that the subject was correctly stated, as the very incidents in the scene which suggested difficulties on that occasion, do, in point of fact, completely identify and establish the subject-matter of the painting, since they conform to the legendary accounts of that tragic event.

"I may here state, that the history of St. Ursula and her companions is buried in great obscurity; that the chronicles which refer to the subject differ much in detail, and are entitled to little consideration. A criticism which deserves notice, and has been adopted by able commentators, makes it appear probable that the number of virgins martyred on the occasion was eleven only, and not eleven thousand; and this important discrepancy is supposed to have arisen from the capital letter M, intended for 'martyres', having been mistaken for the Roman numeral for 1000, and thus XI·M·V, intended for 'undecim martyres virgines' (eleven martyrs virgins), was read 'undecim millia virgines' (eleven thousand virgins).

"The Roman Martyrology mentions only 'St. Ursula and companions', without reference to number. Some ancient calendars mention 'Saula Martha and companions'. Usuard, who wrote in the eighth century, states only that they were very numerous. Sigebert, the French monk, who wrote a chronicle towards the end of the twelfth century, places their number at eleven thousand. In a manuscript calendar of the fifteenth century, in my possession, their festival is recorded on the 21st October, and precisely in the ambiguous manner which is supposed to have occasioned the error. All however agree that the massacre was perpetrated by the Huns, at or near Cologne, in the fourth or fifth century, and that the ladies were natives of Britain.

"Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose details of early British history have thrown such discredit on the productions of his pen, states that St. Ursula was the daughter of Dionoc, prince of Cornwall, and that she was sent abroad to be married to Conan, a British prince who had followed the fortunes of the tyrant Maximus, when he assumed the purple in Britain, in the year 382, and passed into Gaul to encounter the emperor Gratian.

It is stated, that on her passage to Armorica (now Britanny, in France), where Conan had been appointed duke of the province, she and her attendants were driven by a storm on the coast of Belgic Gaul; that they proceeded to Tiel, a port at the mouth of the Rhine, and from thence to Cologne; that they were there assailed by an army of the Huns, who attempted to violate their persons, but were restrained for a while by the majestic dignity of the princess, who availed herself of the pause to exhort her companions to suffer death rather than incur dishonour; and that the Huns, unable to obtain their desires, massacred them with all their attendants.

"There is another legend, given by an anonymous writer of the history of St. Ursula, cited by Surius, a Carthusian monk of Cologne, who wrote the lives of the saints in the sixth century, and it is from this latter that our artist has extracted the incidents for his painting. According to him, St. Ursula tarried two days at Cologne, and proceeded thence to Rome. He then relates that pope Cyriacus, a native of Britain, accompanied her on her return to Cologne; that Conan being informed of her arrival, hastened to meet her at that city, where he was married to her by the said pope; but that shortly afterwards the pope, Conan, and St. Ursula and all her maidens, were martyred. It appears however that there never was a pope of the name of Cyriacus; the nearest approach to it is Syricus, who was a Roman, and died at Rome *anno* 398. This legend about the pope seems to have arisen from the circumstance of the tomb of a prelate named Cyriacus, and designated 'papa,' having been discovered amongst the sepulchres of the virgins; but as the term 'papa', or father, was applied indiscriminately to bishops during the early ages, and it was not until the eleventh century that the title was given exclusively and *par excellence* to the bishop of Rome, as chief bishop, by the decree of a council held at Rome in the popedom of Gregory VII, it is probable that this Cyriacus may have been a British ecclesiastic who was escorting St. Ursula and her party.

"The ancient arms of Cologne bore 'eleven torches', derived from the supposed miraculous appearance of these virgins with torches in their hands in defence of Cologne, when besieged by the Swedes, in the year 1205.

"The rev. Alban Butler, the judicious compiler of the *Lives of the Saints*, rejecting all these legends, observes, 'When the Pagan Saxons laid waste our island from sea to sea, many of its old British inhabitants fled into Gaul, and settled in Armorica, since called from them Little Britain. Others took shelter in the Netherlands, and had a settlement near the mouth of the Rhine, at a castle called Brittenburgh, as appears from ancient monuments and Belgic historians produced by Usher. These holy martyrs seem to have left Britain about that time, and to have met a glorious death in defence of their virginity from the army of the Huns,

which in the fifth age plundered that country, and carried fire and sword wherever they came. It is agreed they came originally from Britain, and Ursula was the conductor and encourager of this holy troop.' I conclude, therefore, that an uncertain number of British ladies were martyred by the Huns, at or near Cologne, with their attendants, and probably a British prelate in their company; and as there exists now, or did exist, at Cologne a tomb, inscribed 'Conan Meriadee', by the side of that of St. Ursula, there may be some foundation for his connexion with the subject, and I presume that the painting exhibited at our last meeting illustrates this event according to the peculiar legend which I have cited."

Upon the painting Dr. W. Bell has obliged the Association with the following remarks:

"That the scene of action of the picture is Cologne no doubt can exist, as the background is formed by the magnificent choir of its Dom, with the rich pinnacles and turrets by which it was adorned under the archiepiscopacy of Conrad von Eichstädten, though, perhaps, more in accordance with the splendour of the original design than with the state of abeyance in which the building remained until about twenty years back, when the design was contemplated of continuing the erection, upon discovery of the original plan and its publication by Boisseree; a design in which his present Prussian Majesty so cordially concurred, and to which he so liberally contributed even whilst crown prince. The above named archbishop laid the first stone of the edifice on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, in 1248; which date, and the year 1499, when the farther progress of the building was stopped for want of funds, and then most probably the original drawing mislaid, would give us two terms within which to seek the name and age of the artist; and the names, and perhaps portraits, of the two donors and their wives, which are added in old German characters below, would by a search into the archives of the three times fifteen patrician families, which are stated for the first third at least to have been chosen by the Roman senate, and who had the entire rule of the city to a very late period, no doubt, almost particularize the life-times of persons in which this work of art was executed. There exists, however, at present, in the Dom, another eminent work by an artist of whom nothing more is known than appears from his monogram and the date 1410 contained in it: this is a folding painting, containing inwardly the offering of the magi or three kings of Köln, and on each side, to the left of the spectator, the legend of St. Ursula, and to the right the martyrs of the Theban legion with their leader St. Gereon at their head. When folded, the two leaves are covered with the Salutation. F. Schlegel in his *Europa* (vol. ii, 2d heft; found also in the translation of his miscellaneous works published by Bohn), speaks of the execution of this work in the most enthusiastic terms,

W King

SCULPTURE AT STURLEY.

from Mrs. Ogborne's *History of Essex*, where the same figures as at Stepney are introduced.

"The circular stones above the arms of the cross are doubtless intended for nimbi, each surrounding an adoring angel, the frequent accompaniment of various representations of the Crucifixion; indeed, a similar resemblance may be apparently, if not conclusively, traced upon one of them.

"Presuming that this sculpture occupies its original position, which there appears no reason to doubt, it may perhaps be considered a somewhat rare example of a Crucifixion placed over a doorway; as the translators of the late edition of *Durandus on Symbolism* remark, in their introductory essay:—'The Crucifixion seldom occurs over doors: while over porches a crucifix is very common. The cause of the difference is explained by a consideration that the former are shut, the latter open; and "when Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers". Indeed it may be almost asserted that a crucifix is never seen over a closed door, except where it forms a part of the usual representation of the Trinity.'

"While bringing this sculpture under the notice of your Association, I may also mention the existence of another on the external wall at the west end of the south aisle, considerably more mutilated than the former, and probably of the date of the fourteenth century. (See Plate VII.) This was also very badly engraved by Malcolm for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1793, and he considered it to represent the marriage of St. Catherine. Lysons describes the subject as a kneeling figure adoring the Virgin and Child; which of these descriptions is correct, it is not easy, perhaps, to determine satisfactorily. The only representation I have seen of the marriage of St. Catherine is an engraving in Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, where the saint is standing, as is also the infant Saviour, upon the knee of the Virgin, who is seated."

Mr. King has also obligingly favoured the Association with the following notice in reference to a former communication:—

"In the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. v, p. 359, is an engraving of a silver seal found at Ashingdon, in Essex. On seeing this I immediately recognized it as the seal of Reginald, or Richard Snarry, a name familiar to me in that part of Essex. Mentioning this to my friend Mr. E. B. Price, one of your associates, he kindly procured for me an impression of the seal, which fully confirms my opinion. The name is clearly Snarry, not Sharry or Shaard, as appear from the engraving. In corroboration of this, I will quote from a copy of an Inquisition I have by me, taken on the death of Thomas de Stapel in 1371, who lies interred in Shopland church, Essex, with a monumental brass, a rubbing of which I exhibited to your Association in November 1849, accompanied by a short paper. This brass I have since published. The extract I refer to is as follows: 'Ac ten' man' de Apeton in vill'

de Canewdon except' marisc' de Ocreflet & 1 tofto et 20 acr' tre q' quondam Ricus Snarry ten' de man' de Apeton p' q^{d} ser' ignor''. The parish of Canewdon joins that of Ashingdon, where the seal was found. Also in the Inquisitiones nonarum, 14 and 15 Edw. III, is the following: 'Fambregg Hakewell & Asshedon. P' non' in vill' onant^{r} Wilts. Clement Reginald Snarry, Thomas Claveryngg et Ric. Crawele pochi. de *l*xxiij-iiij*d*.' The above parishes are now written Fambridge, Hawkwell, and Ashingdon, and are adjoining. Probably had I leisure for further research I might find other mention of the family of Snarry, but I conceive the above records are sufficient to identify the seal. The name is very peculiar, and I have never met with it elsewhere; but Mr. Price finds it in Lower's *Essay on English Surnames*. The arms I suppose to be, 'a mail in a field lozengy', but I have not succeeded in finding the name or the arms in any heraldic collections.

"P.S. The name in the *Inquis. nonarum* is printed S*u*arry, but the mistake of reading *u* for *n* in the MS. from which they are printed is of course very likely."

Gilpin Gorst, esq., sent for inspection a drawing of Rer or Rere Cross, which will appear in the next *Journal*.

Goddard Johnson, esq., of Norwich, sent for examination the following seal, which reads "SIGILL THOME PIRI".

January 29.

Mr. Henry Heathcote Russell, clerk of the works during the progress of the contract in 1840 and 1841, under Mr. Tite, architect of the new Royal Exchange, read the first of a series of papers on the various fragments of antiquity discovered during the excavations for the foundation. The subjects embraced in this paper (which, together with others, will probably form distinct papers in the *Journal*, with appropriate illustrations) related to the general arrangements made for the work, the discovery of the unsoundness of a portion of the ground, and the consequent discovery of the antiquities—consisting of an ancient conduit, or subway, under the mound of earth in the centre area of the old Royal Exchange, and which probably had originally formed a passage to unite two or more buildings. The sides were constituted of large blocks of hewn chalk, and amongst the rubbish which filled it were found many fragments of pottery, tiles, and other articles, belonging to the medieval period, of which drawings were exhibited. On the removal of the side walls and subsoil, specimens of the red Samian ware and various Roman

coins were met with,—Constantinus, Hadrianus, Gratianus, etc. Also, the base of some erection (supposed by Mr. Russell to have been an altar), various bones, the skulls of the horse, dog, ox, deer, articles made of bone, a stylus, spoons, dice, etc.; the tusks of the boar, teeth of different animals, bones of sheep, goats, and other animals.

Thomas Lott, esq., having been informed by one of the inspectors of the Commission of Sewers, that two stone coffins had been discovered by the Messrs. Palmer, beneath their premises in St. Bartholomew Close, proceeded there to view the same. He found them lying direct east and west, about twelve feet below the surface; each coffin measured about six feet six inches in length, two feet in breadth at the head, and thirteen inches at the foot. In each coffin there was a skeleton; but in the coffin to the right of the excavation were two skulls. As the eastern wall of Mr. Palmer's buildings is formed by a pointed arch, it no doubt formerly constituted a portion of the cloisters of the priory, but it is now filled up with masonry.

February 19.

Charles Moore Jessop, esq., laid before the Association a carved ivory knife handle, which had been obtained at Flushing. (See Mr. Cuming's paper, p. 35 *ante*, and plate II, fig. 6.)

J. G. Patrick, esq., exhibited a pax of the fifteenth century, and also a small medal of Ignatius Loyola, which he had accidentally picked up. It was stated to have been found on the bank of the river near Lambeth Palace, and was furnished with a loop-hole, so that it could be easily worn round the neck.

T. J. Pettigrew, esq., exhibited a penny of Henry III, found at Battle, in Sussex. The inscription was greatly defaced, but it was belonging to the first mintage, having a voided cross within the inner circle, and four pellets conjoined in each compartment. It had been sent to him by Wm. Bowman, esq., F.R.S.

F. A. Carrington, esq., communicated some observations on monumental figures discovered at Wanborough, Wilts, and suggestions as to identifying monumental figures where there is neither inscription, heraldic device, nor tradition. (See pp. 52-56 *ante*.)

J. R. Planché, esq., exhibited a helmet of the time of Edward III, which will be figured and more particularly noticed in a future communication.

H. Syer Cuming, esq., made some observations on the pestle and mortar, and illustrated his subject by the exhibition of various specimens. "Man (he observed), in whatever position he may occupy in the scale of civilization, or in whatever clime he may have been placed by nature, seems to have been compelled by necessity to adopt some means whereby

he could bray and comminute various substances for food. One of the most simple contrivances for this purpose was to be found among the tribes of Australia, who prepare a bulbous root called bellilah, and the roasted bark from roots of trees and shrubs, for food, by pounding them between two round stones with slight hollows in the centres. Several examples of these stones may be seen in the 'Ethnological room' at the British Museum. A contrivance evincing more thought and ingenuity is that adopted by the natives of Tahiti for pounding the bread-fruit, the plantain, and the taro for food. This is done by means of a pestle and block of wood. The penu or pestle is formed either of black basaltic stone, obtained chiefly from the island of Maurna, or of a species of porous madrepore. The base of this instrument is convex, and the body of a conical form with a crutch handle at top. (A very old example of one of the basaltic penu was exhibited.)

"In the papahia of the Tahitians is probably to be seen the origin of the mortar. The level top of the block would in time become hollowed by the repeated blows of the pestle, and a concave surface thus formed would readily suggest to the mind the advantage of working out a depression in the wood, in which the various substances destined for pounding could be placed. And it is probable that the first mortars were formed of wood, for such were used by the archaic Greeks, and such are still used by the natives of Dar-Runga, a country adjoining Dar-Fur, where they are called bedding. And in India the arrow-root is prepared in large wooden mortars.

"Mortars of stone were used by the Egyptians at a very early period. In the tomb of Remesses III at Thebes, is a painting representing two men pounding with long poker-shaped pestles in a large two-handled mortar. This mortar is wide at top and narrowed towards the base; but in another painting at Thebes, the mortar is broad at the base and narrowing upwards to the mouth, and without handles. The pestles are alike at both ends. Small flower-pot-shaped mortars of white alabaster have been found in the tombs of the Egyptians, which were probably employed in levigating cosmetics. The large stone mortars now employed in Egypt are called *mús-han;* those for domestic use are of brass and denominated *hón.*

"The mortar is spoken of as a familiar utensil as early as the time of Moses (see Numb. xi, 8), and as late as the time of king Solomon it was used for comminuting grain (Proverbs xxvii, 22). The mortar was employed by other nations of Western Asia besides the Hebrews at a very early period, for Herodotus (i, 200), describing three Babylonian tribes who fed only on fish, says: 'They prepare it thus: having dried it in the sun, they beat it very small in a mortar, and afterwards sift it through a piece of fine cloth, they then form it into cakes, or bake it as bread.' The mortar has been in daily use for ages among the rice-con-

suming nations of the east. The Chinese employ a very large kind of mortar for pounding *mee* or rice, which may be described as a large basin sunk in the earth, and the pestle as an egg-shaped mass of stone attached to the under side of a long plank, which is laid across a bar and made to descend by treading on the wood alternately with the right and left foot; the person all the while keeping himself steady by grasping an horizontal bar which is erected breast high before him. A print of this machine is given in sir George Staunton's *Embassy to China*. Pestles and mortars of iron have long been in use in the Celestial Empire for domestic purposes. The Chinese artists employ pestles of glass for levigating their colours in saucers of white porcelain.

"The pestle and mortar appear to have formed part of the domestic furniture of every Greek and Roman establishment from the earliest period. Hesiod mentions the mortar amongst the wooden utensils required by a farmer. He directs the farmer to cut a mortar three feet, and a pestle three cubits long. Both of these were evidently to be wrought out from the straight portions of the stem or branches of trees, and the thicker and shorter of them was to be hollowed. This archaic mortar with its long pestle could have been only used for coarse substances or where large quantities were required to be pounded, such as grain for making bread. Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvi, 43) alludes to the mortars anciently used by the apothecaries for their drugs, the painters for their colours, and the cooks for their spices, and says that for the formation of mortars Ephesian marble was preferred before all others, next to this in value was the stone called pyropæcilon or psaronium from Thebes, in Upper Egypt, and after this a kind of chalazius called chrysites. The stones most esteemed for medical mortars were the basanites, on account of their firmness of texture, and the Ethiopian marble for eye salves because it was believed to give out a certain moisture. The marble of Tœnara, of Carthage, called Pœnicum, and the hæmatites or bloodstone, were all considered good for medicines wherein saffron formed the active principle. Both mortars of Egyptian alabaster, and of a white variety of the ophites were much valued in pharmacy; but Pliny tells us that neither the black Tœnarian marble, nor the white marble of Paros, are good for medical purposes.

"The Romans had two kinds of mortars; the one tall, called pila, the other shallow, termed mortarium; but both the names are frequently used indifferently. The pila resembled an ordinary garden-pot in form, with a square projecting ear on two opposite sides; and with it was used a long heavy pestle called pilum, which was held with both hands. At Pompeii have been discovered marble pilæ, and several have been exhumed among Roman remains in London. Mr. Cuming alluded to a fragment of a very large one found in Suffolk-lane in October 1848,

which was wrought out of Portland stone, and another of similar material discovered about the same time in St. John-street, Smithfield.

The mortarium was of a very different shape from the pila. It was a strong, shallow, broad-brimmed basin, generally with a lip or spout at one edge, and with it was used a sort of muller, termed pistillum or pistillus, which was held in one hand and employed for grinding, kneading and mixing ingredients together, whilst the pilum was used for pounding. Innumerable examples of mortaria have been discovered among Roman vestigia in London and various parts of the country. They vary in size from a few inches to near two feet in diameter. Some are formed of fine light buff-coloured clay, others of white stone-ware; another kind has been produced in the *Smother-kiln*, exhibiting a leaden hue,[1] and mortaria also occur of fine red ware, and of the beautiful variety of pottery known as Samian ware.[2] Whatever species of clay may have been employed in their fabrication, we generally find the bottoms of the vessels thickly studded with fragments of quartz, iron ore, or scoria of iron to facilitate trituration, and occasionally the clay has been kneaded with small fragments of tile, an instance of which was evident in a large specimen exhibited, which was discovered in Little St. Thomas Apostle, December 1848.

In some mortaria we find the name of the figulus or potter stamped upon the broad edge of the vessel, an example of which was shown in a specimen exhumed in Wood-street, Cheapside, May 1848, and which bears the name LOLLVS F(ecit).[3]

"The spouts of mortaria fabricated of ordinary clay present no variety in their form, but those of Samian ware occasionally furnish us with spouts of tasteful design, in the form of lions' heads with a round hole pierced through the mouth, reminding us of the classic antefixa and mediæval gurgoils. One of this kind is engraved in Mr. Lee's work on the Roman remains discovered at Caerleon, another example is in the collection of Mr. W. Chaffers, stamped with the maker's name VLIGGI-M(anû)"; and Mr. Cuming produced one with a lion-head spout, found with other Roman remains in London.

"We occasionally meet with Samian-ware vessels of a peculiar form, having thick basin-shaped bottoms, upright sides, and deep over-lapping rims, which, from their abraded surfaces, Mr. Cuming conceived, have evidently been employed as mortaria, although they have no spout or lips; and not always with the silex or scoria imbedded in the clay. A fragment of one of these vessels, exhumed with a quantity of other pieces of Samian ware, in Little St. Thomas Apostle, November 10th, 1848, was produced, and exhibited the effects of the pistillum upon its surface.

[1] See Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc., ii, 166, 168; vi, 57.

[2] Ib., ii, 166; iv, 12.

[3] For a valuable list of names occurring upon mortaria, see Mr. C. R. Smith's "Collect. Antiqua", No. X, p. 149.

The late Mr. Tyrrel Artis discovered an example of this kind of mortaria at Sibson, in Northamptonshire, which had never been used,—the fragments of quartz being completely covered by the bright coraline surface."[1]

Mr. Cuming exhibited a beautiful and rare example of the mortarium, with its pistillum, wrought out of dark-green serpentine (the ophites of the ancients), and which there is reason to believe were discovered at Pompeii. The mortarium is a perfect basin in shape, and of admirable workmanship, measuring nearly three inches in height, and six inches and a half in diameter. The pistillum is five inches and a half long, but the upper end is broken off. It is in the possession of Dr. Iliff. Mr. C. Baily possesses half of a mortarium of marble, found in Mincing-lane.

"The mortar was used for various purposes by the Romans besides those already alluded to. Before, and even subsequent to, the introduction of the mill, they pounded their corn for bread. Vitruvius (vii, 10) mentions the pounding and mixing the charcoal and glue in mortars, in order to make the atramentum, or black paint.[2] Both Vitruvius (vii, 3, 10) and Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvi, 55) speak of the fine cement for the walls of apartments being mixed and kneaded in mortar. And Pliny (xxxiii, 41; xxxiv, 22) records the use of the mortar in metallurgy, as in triturating cinnabar to obtain mercury from it by sublimation. From Athenæus (ix, 70) we learn that spices, fragrant herbs, and flowers, for the use of the kitchen, were mixed in mortars."

With regard to the form of the Roman pestle, Mr. Cuming observed that in the *Archæologia*, xxiv, p. 199, pl. XLIV, is figured a clavi-shaped one of terra-cotta, which was found in 1831, in making the northern approaches to London Bridge; but specimens somewhat varying from this form have also been discovered; a very large example, with convex base, conic body, and slightly domed top, was exhumed in Suffolk-lane, in October 1848; and Mr. Price possesses a small one of this shape, which was found, together with several mortaria, in Cock-lane, West Smithfield.

"Closely allied to the pestle was the rudis, and its diminutive rudicula, which were wooden mullers employed for beating and mixing different ingredients together, and stirring various things whilst boiling, stewing, or making decoctions.

"Mortars for medical purposes were at times richly wrought; as seen in the one formerly belonging to the infirmary of St. Mary's abbey, York. It is of brass or bell-metal, measuring nine and three-quarter inches high

[1] See Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc., ii, 166.

[2] In the grave of a Gallo-Roman female artist discovered at Saint-Medart-des-Prés (Vendée), was found a pestle and mortar for mixing paints; the smaller mortar was of bronze.

and eleven and a half inches diameter, and weighs about eight pounds avoirdupois. It has two loop handles, and the sides are richly ornamented with a double row of quatrefoils, the upper row charged alternately with a lion rampant and a bird, the lower with a griffin *passant*, and a lion in the same attitude *regardant*. Near the rim is inscribed, in Gothic letters, *Mortarium Sci Johis Evange de firmaria be Marie Ebo.* And at the lower part: *Fr. Willm de Touthorp me fecit*, A.D. MCCCVIII. From which it appears that it is a mortar dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, and made by brother William de Touthorp, in the year of our Lord 1308, for the infirmary of St. Mary's abbey at York. Two engravings of this curious mortar have appeared at different times in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which are as unlike each other as they can well be. The first is to be found in the *Magazine* for June 1800, pl. ii, p. 513; the second in that for July 1813, pl. ii, p. 17. At one period this mortar was in the possession of Henry Fairfax, esq., of Towlston, near Tadcaster. When Gough's edition of *Camden* appeared in 1789, it had lately been in the hands of an apothecary at Selby (see vol. iii, p. 65), and when the engraving of it was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1813, it was the property of a Mr. Blount, a surgeon at Birmingham.

"On March 25, 1846, C. Baily, esq., exhibited to the Council of the Association 'a small mortar, much ornamented, of the fourteenth century; and a large mortar, of the same form, but of a later date'; both were of brass.[1]

"We find the mortar mentioned in the old inventories as forming part of the furniture of every mansion. Thus in an inventory of the fifteenth century in the University of Cambridge, of a house at 'Fyndyrne', we have among other items, 'a mortar and a pestelle'.[2] Strutt (*Horda*, iii, p. 65) cites a document of the time of Henry VIII, in the Cotton Library, entitled, 'An inventorye of all the goodes and cattells, late Richarde Farmers in the manor of Estone', in which occurs, 'a gret stone morter; —a lytell spyce morter, with a pestyle of ierne' (iron).

"Much labour and taste were frequently expended on the adornment of the spice mortars, and at times we find the name of the maker, and also the date when wrought, appearing on them. An instance of this practice was shown on a Dutch mortar discovered at Abingdon, which bore round the upper part the following inscription and date, 'Ghegoten von Jan Verpiet, 1508' (molten by John Verpiet, 1508). This mortar was of brass, very heavy, without handles, and decorated with a band of foliage. It measured six inches high, and nearly seven and a half inches in diameter at the mouth.

"Mr. Chaffers possesses a curious bronze spice mortar, formerly in the De Bruge Collection, the outside of which is octangular, and enriched

[1] See Journal, ii, 189. [2] Ib., i, 144.

with a coat of arms, etc., and inscribed in Gothic letters, 'Magdalena Evertdeich, 1548.' It has two handles, in the form of animals' heads with long ears.

"In the *Journal* of the Association, vol. v, p. 163, mention is made of 'a brass mortar', taken from the old foundations of the north pier at Yarmouth; it is inscribed round the top, 'Petrus Veuden Chein me fecit, 1554'; and round the centre, at three equal intervals, is the bust of queen Elizabeth, crowned and bearing the sceptre and globe.

"In the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, at Edinburgh, is preserved a brass mortar, bearing the legend, 'Marc Le Ser me fecit, 1575'."

An elegant example of the spice mortar of the sixteenth century was exhibited by Mr. Cuming. It is of brass, nearly four inches high; the sides decorated all round with flutes and acanthus leaves; and it is provided with trunnion handles.

"We sometimes meet with religious mottos upon these old spice mortars. In the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, is a specimen bearing the words 'Lof. Godt. Van. Al. 1601' (Laud God of all). This motto also occurs upon a mortar of a later date, recently exhibited among the works of medieval art at the Adelphi, 'Lof. Godt. Van. Al. Aº. 1640.' It is evident from the language that these mortars are of Dutch fabrication.

"In the Edinburgh museum is another brass mortar bearing a pious sentence, 'Soli Deo Gloria, 1630'. (An example with the same inscription, and dated 1633, was produced. The specimen is of brass, three inches and a half high, prettily decorated with foliage, and having two handles in the shape of dolphins.)

"The mottos upon spice mortars sometimes took an amatory turn. On Nov. 13th, 1850, a drawing was laid before the Association, of a brass mortar, with the Dutch legend, 'Liefde Verwint Al Dinck Aº. 1643' (Love conquers all things).

"The taste for decorated and inscribed spice and drug mortars seems to have pretty well died away soon after the middle of the seventeenth century; and with plain mortars came in the fashion of making them without handles, and from this period their use as a piece of domestic furniture has gradually ceased.

"Though brass or bell-metal was the usual material employed in the fabrication of the domestic spice mortar, yet from a remote period mortars have been wrought out of various stones; beautiful ones of agate have long been manufactured at Oberstein on the Rhine. In this country marble has been frequently used, and we also meet with them formed of iron, silver, glass, guaiacum, box-wood, etc., but except for special purposes mortars of these substances have been almost superseded by the white 'jasper-ware' ones, invented by Wedgwood, which are found

to be equal if not superior to all others. The materials of pestles have varied as much as those of mortars." (Mr. Cuming exhibited an example of one of iron, seven inches long, which was believed to be of considerable age.)

March 12.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

James Heywood, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., President, in the chair.

The following Report of the Auditors for 1850-51, was read, and ordered to be printed:—

Auditors' Report.

We, the auditors of the British Archæological Association, having examined the treasurer's account of his receipts and payments on behalf of the Association for the past year, do hereby report, that we find the receipts to have amounted to £586 : 19 : 8, and the payments (as duly vouched) to £654 : 1 : 7, thus leaving a balance of £67 : 1 : 11 due to the treasurer.

It is gratifying to us to observe, that the accounts have been kept in a clear and satisfactory manner, and that the most rigid economy has been observed in the expenditure. And we advert with pleasure to the present prosperous condition of the Association; it appearing that sixty-two new associates have been added to the list, whilst on the other hand we have to deplore the loss of six by death, and to regret the retirement of twenty-seven members.

It is satisfactory to find that the treasurer has not only been able to liquidate all claims upon the publication of the Winchester volume, but also to reduce the amount upon the Gloucester volume from £166 : 9 : 6 to £61 : 15 : 6; and it must also be remembered, that upon the volume there still remain several subscriptions to be received.

It will doubtless be very gratifying to the members of the Association to know that beyond the balance due to the treasurer of the sum of £67 : 1 : 11 upon the entire account, there appears not a single demand against the Association of any kind whatever.

W. D. Haggard, F.S.A.
Wm. Yewd.

London, March 10, 1851.

RECEIPTS.	£.	s.	d.
1850-51.			
Balance at the last Audit	29	0	2
Life and Annual Subscriptions	360	19	0
Donations in aid of Illustration of Journal:			
Lord Londesborough 6 16 0			
M. 10 0 0			
Rev. Dr. Jessop 0 10 0			
	17	6	0
C. Baily, Esq., Etching of 8 Plates.			
A. White, Esq., do. 2 do.			
L. Jewitt, Esq., do. 4 do.			
A. H. Burkitt, Esq., do. 2 do.			
Antiquarian Club, do. 1 do.			
Rev. Beale Poste, Plate of British Coins.			
Balance in favour of the Association by the Manchester and Lancaster Congress	27	12	0
Sale of Journal	37	10	6
——— Winchester Book	9	18	0
	£482	5	8
Received on Account of Transactions of the Gloucester Congress	104	14	0
	£586	19	8
Balance due to the Treasurer	67	1	11
	£654	1	7

London, March 10, 1851.—W. D. Haggard ; W. Yewd.

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
1850-51.			
Printing and Binding Journals of the Association, Nos. xx to xxiii	252	7	3
Illustrating the same	109	9	8
Rent of Rooms in Sackville Street	16	16	0
Stationery	3	19	4
Advertisements and Postage	21	5	0
Purchase and Carriage of Antiquities and Books	20	13	6
Collector's Commission, and Agent for Delivery of the Journals	27	12	11
Gratuities to Servants	3	0	0
Secretaries' Petty Expenses	10	15	5
Amount of Donation made to the Society, and accounted for, but not received by the Treasurer from the person through whom it was sent	20	0	0
Transcript for Winchester Volume, and Lithographic Printing	1	13	0
	£487	2	1
Printing and Binding Gloucester Volume ...	131	11	6
Illustrations for the same	34	18	0
	£654	1	7

The Treasurer announced the names of members deceased, or withdrawn, and also those who had been erased from the list by the Council for non-payment of their subscriptions.

The thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to the Treasurer for his great and continued attention to the Association, and the valuable services rendered by him. Also, to the Auditors for their report; to the President and Council for the past year; to the Secretaries, the Registrar, Curator, and Librarian; and to those gentlemen who had so kindly aided the Association in illustrating the *Journal*.

The thanks of the meeting were also voted to C. Roach Smith, esq., ex-Secretary, for the great services he had rendered to the Association from its formation, accompanied by an expression of sincere regret that the state of his health disabled him from taking so active a part as he had hitherto done in the business of the Association.

Inconvenience arising from the subscriptions having hitherto become due on the 1st of March, it was unanimously resolved, That in future the financial year of the Association commence on the 1st of January in each year.

The President announced, that the Congress for 1851 would be held in August next, at Derby, under the patronage of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., lord-lieutenant of the county of Derbyshire, and under the presidency of Sir Oswald Mosley, bart., D.C.L., and requested that associates or others who were desirous of delivering papers on that occasion, would transmit them, or make their intentions known, to the secretaries as early as possible; or to Henry J. Stevens, esq., of Derby, Honorary Local Secretary for the Congress.

A ballot was then taken for Officers and Council for the ensuing year, and Mr. E. B. Price and Mr. Egan were appointed Scrutineers. They reported the election to be as follows:—

PRESIDENT.

SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, BART., D.C.L.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Sir William Betham, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.	John Lee, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Beriah Botfield, F.R.S., F.S.A.	T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Sir Fortunatus Dwarris, F.R.S., F.S.A.	S. R. Solly, F.R.S., F.S.A.
James Heywood, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.	Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

Charles Baily, F.S.A. | J. R. Planché, F.S.A.

Hydrographical Secretary—Capt. Bullock, R.N.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence—William Bell, Phil. Doct.

Registrar, Curator, and Librarian—Alfred White.

COUNCIL.

Charles Ainslie.
Arthur Ashpitel, F.S.A.
Wm. Beattie, M.D.
W. H. Black.
Alexander H. Burkitt, F.S.A.
F. H. Davis, F.S.A.
Edward Falkener.
George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Nathaniel Gould, F.S.A.
George Gwilt, F.S.A.
James O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Thomas Lott, F.S.A.
Major A. J. Moore, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A.
Wm. Wansey, F.S.A.
Albert Woods, F.S.A., Lancaster Herald.
Wm. Yewd.

AUDITORS.

Charles Egan.
Roger Horman-Fisher.

Thanks were then voted by acclamation to the Chairman, J. Heywood, esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A, and the meeting adjourned to the Freemason's Tavern, and celebrated the anniversary by a dinner, which was well attended ; Mr. Heywood, M.P., presiding on the occasion, and being supported by Sir George Strickland, bart., M.P., L. Heyworth, esq., M.P., M. Wilson, esq., M.P., Rear-Admiral Sir W. Henry Dillon, K.C.H., etc., etc.

Notices of New Publications.

Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs. By John Kenrick, M.A., 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1850.

An acquisition to the Egyptian antiquary, presenting in a faithful manner the results obtained by the combined researches of travellers, artists, antiquaries, and critics. The arrangement is simple and clear, and the various divisions are treated without prolixity, yet sufficiently copious to afford general instruction upon the several subjects embraced in Egyptian archæology. The substance of sir Gardner Wilkinson's work on the *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, which must ever constitute our chief authority in these matters, is judiciously incorporated, and the acknowledgements to this author and others whose works are referred to are made with accuracy and propriety. Mr. Kenrick does not lay claim to any particular knowledge of hieroglyphical literature, and has therefore availed himself of the interpretations given by our best hieroglyphical scholars. This is important, inasmuch as the early history of Egypt is only to be understood by an acquaintance with the inscriptions on the monuments. In the chapter on Memphis, Mr. Kenrick has judiciously introduced a summary of the discoveries made in the Pyramids by Colonel Howard Vyse and Mr. Perring; and in that division of his work which relates to the embalming of man and animals, he has followed the *History of Egyptian Mummies* by Mr. Pettigrew. This work may be strongly recommended to the Egyptian student.

The Castles, Palaces, and Prisons of Mary of Scotland. By Charles Mackie: London, 1850, 8vo.

An interesting compilation of historical notices relating to Mary queen of Scotland, very handsomely printed and ornamented with appropriate illustrations. As antiquaries, we could have desired the particulars relating to the structure of the different castles and palaces to have been more minute and precise; but they are necessarily adapted to the general reader. The notices in relation to the murder of Darnley are ably put together and highly interesting. It need scarcely be said the author is

an enthusiast in the cause of Mary, and her sufferings are depicted with deep feeling and regret. The personal history, in itself so eventful and romantic, cannot but render this work acceptable to the public generally, but particularly so to those north of the Tweed, who are ever so ready to dilate upon the beauty, accomplishments, talents, and calamities of "the unfortunate queen".

The Publications of the Antiquarian Etching Club. Vol. II. Published by the Members of the Club. J. Russell Smith: London, 1850, 4to.

We have always considered the Antiquarian Etching Club a valuable auxiliary to the several societies established for the study and promotion of the science of archæology. While the ravages of time and numerous casualties are daily contributing to diminish the monuments and relics of past ages, the existence of a society especially devoted to the issue of accurate engravings of unpublished antiquities, cannot but prove most serviceable. The second volume of the publications of this Club is now put forth, and we perceive not only a more useful and judicious selection of subjects, but great improvement in the execution of the engravings. Most of the members being amateurs, it would hardly be just to offer any critical remarks upon their artistic skill: to the antiquary correct representation is the chief excellence, and the plates, generally, appear to be finished with care and accuracy of detail.

We recognize among the contributions those of several professional gentlemen, and one—the plate of Gillingham church—by an engraver of considerable eminence. We are glad to find accomplished artists willing to unite with amateurs in the important undertaking in which they are engaged. The greater part of the objects represented in the present volume, we believe, are now published for the first time; and we strongly urge the members to confine themselves (except under particular circumstances) to the illustration of unpublished antiquities—an ample field is afforded to select from—and their volumes will continue to increase in interest and value. Hitherto the Club has been sustained by the exertions of but few members. We hope this year to see many other artists and antiquaries associated with them. By such an accession, a greater diversity of style and subjects will be ensured, and the labours of the present members considerably lightened, while the etchings will be more extensively interchanged and disseminated, and the design of the Club fully accomplished.

THE NUMISMATIST. By Max. Borrell. (Hearne.)

THIS new monthly publication, entirely devoted to numismatography, will, we doubt not, be read with considerable interest even by the general scholar. Future inquirers into numismatics, will not readily find an equally able, instructive guide, either for ancient, mediæval, or modern coins and medals. The number for March contains a selection of the most remarkable coins of the Sybarites, Thurians, Locrians, Copia (as a Roman colony), and of various Roman families. We hope this periodical will receive the encouragement it deserves from the public.

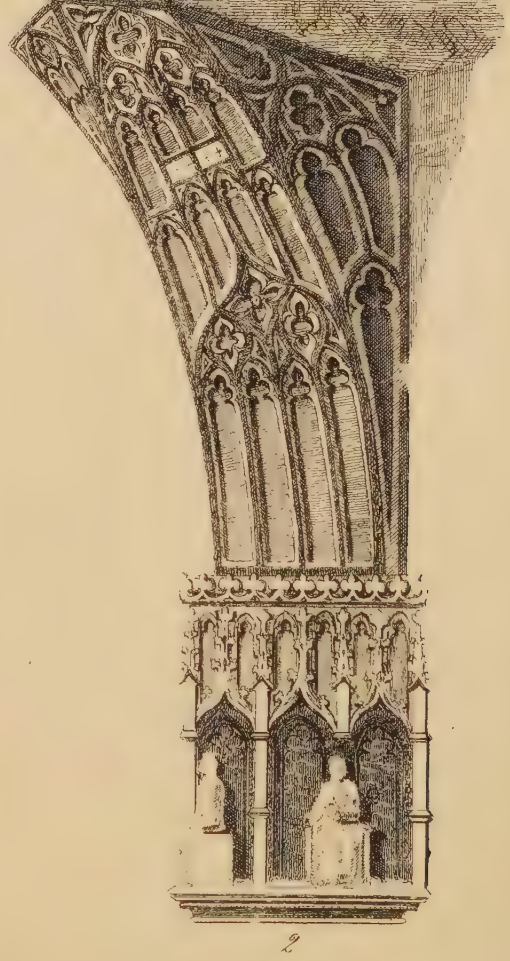
THE MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES. No. 2, for April 1851. London: J. W. Parker, 8vo.

THE second number of this excellent periodical has just appeared, and contains papers of great interest on the paintings of Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi, by Mr. Lloyd; on the sculptures of the Ionic monument at Xanthus discovered by sir Charles Fellows, by Benjamin Gibson, esq., of Rome; on the mausoleum of Mausolus, by Mr. Falkener, etc. etc. The Xanthian paper, it will be recollected by the members of the British Archæological Association, was handed over to the learned editor of this publication by the council of the Association, as more fitted for the pages of the *Classical Museum* than their *Journal*, and it is gratifying to witness the able manner in which the communication has been edited. This periodical is deserving of the support of every one who feels an interest in classical literature and antiquities.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

In the press, in 8vo., price to Subscribers, 12s.; non-Subscribers, 15s. Consuetudines Kanciæ. A History of Gavelkind and other remarkable Customs in the County of Kent. By Charles Sandys, F.S.A. (Cantianus.) Names received by J. R. Smith, 4, Old Compton-street; and by the Author, at Canterbury.

Illustrations and Descriptions of the Ancient Church of Shobdon, Herefordshire. By G. R. Lewis. These beautiful specimens of Norman sculpture, now going rapidly to decay, have been most accurately drawn by Mr. Lewis, in the minutest detail. The work will be published uniform with the "Illustrations of Kilpeck Church" in Four Parts. The price each Part, to Subscribers, in royal 4to., plain, 10s. 6d.; large paper, tinted proofs, £1. 1s. Names received by Mr. G. R. Lewis, 10, South Parade, Brompton.



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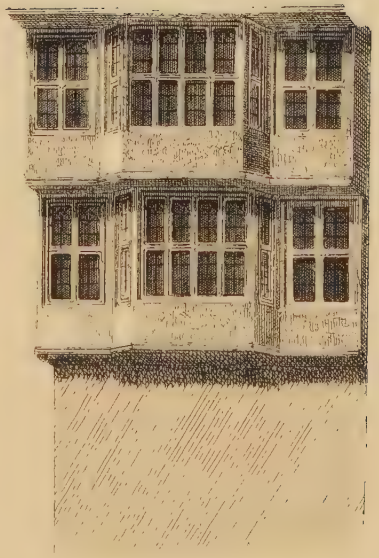


2 Etched by T. Brown

THE JOURNAL

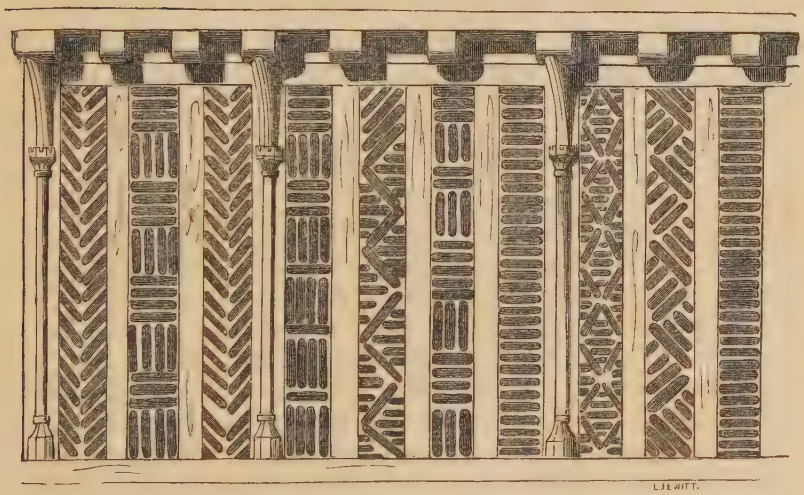
OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JULY 1851.

OBSERVATIONS ON ANCIENT TIMBER HOUSES IN ENGLAND.

BY J. ADEY REPTON, ESQ., F.S.A.



WHILST the forms of the more costly edifices of stone have been preserved and perpetuated beyond their actual duration by the faithful representations of the pencil, there are now many buildings of timber daily sinking into oblivion, partly by the natural decay of the materials, but chiefly by a taste for what is new, rather than old, which

prevails in proportion to the growing wealth of a country, or its inhabitants.

The subject of buildings constructed with timber has not hitherto been much investigated. The few specimens still remaining, or lately to be seen, may perhaps throw some light on the form and style of architecture which prevailed in former times; these may become curious, if not useful, because in a few years it may reasonably be supposed that no vestiges will remain of such edifices, except such as may be preserved by drawings. I shall beg leave to mention a few circumstances under three general heads:—

I. The roofs.
II. The projection of the stories; and
III. The apertures and windows.

First.—When Grecian architecture was introduced into this country, the carpentry of roofs underwent a great change, but whether for the better or the worse can only be decided by the respective uses to which it was applied. Old English houses covered with rough slates, or tiles, had steep roofs in the form of the letter A, terminating in an acute angle; but the modern houses, copied from the Italians, had flat roofs, or such as terminated in a very obtuse angle, and covered with slate. The parapet, or balustrade, was added to hide what was deemed incongruous in the Grecian and Roman styles; and for the same reason even the chimneys are omitted in the designs of Inigo Jones, etc., although houses in England could not exist without them; and indeed, in the old English houses, the chimneys were often richly decorated, and formed a great feature in the character of the building.

But to return to the carpentry of the roofs. In the modern English roofs, only two considerations are attended to: first, to cover the walls and preserve from rain; and, secondly, to be as flat and invisible as may be consistent with the first consideration; and, of course (except in very wide roofs), little advantage can be taken of them for garrets. On the contrary, the old English roof was better calculated to keep out the wet, being steeper, and therefore better adapted to carry off the water; it had less tendency to push out the walls, because it might almost stand without any beam to counteract the lateral pressure; and it gave

more space for servants' rooms immediately near the family apartments: to all which there was no other objection than that the roof was more visible; yet when it was ornamented with projecting dormer-windows, and enriched with gables and lofty chimneys, and sometimes by towers and turrets, it became a picturesque object to those who do not think the old English style should everywhere give place to that of Greece and Rome.

Secondly.—The next circumstance to be observed in the construction, is that in old timber-houses the upper stories project over those below them. It is evident that the reason for this overhanging was to gain space; for it will generally be found, that in streets where land is valuable, and no encroachment allowed in the public ways, they gain space above by projecting over each story, as in the few remaining timber-houses in Fleet-street, Leadenhall-street, etc. As to the construction of the overhanging of timber-houses, the projections are sometimes formed by beams and joists only, sometimes by brackets; but great attention seems to have been given to the supports of the corners, which were very often richly carved; and where these were omitted, the cross-beam of timber is generally found to strengthen the corner, and prevent any settlement in the roof.

Thirdly.—In the earliest specimens of timber-houses, the windows on the ground floor were generally so high that a person could not see out of them when sitting. This is exemplified in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, where it is twice observed that the window "stante full lowe":—

> "He rometh to the carpenteres hous,
> Ande stille he stant under the schot windowe;
> Unto his brest raught it was so lowe."

And again:—

> "So mote I thryve I schal at cockkes crowe
> Ful pryvely go knokke at his wyndowe,
> That stant ful lowe upon his bowres wal."

There are at present hardly any perfect specimens of old timber-houses of a date before the reigns of Henry VII and VIII; and this may be accounted for by the alteration which became necessary in the forms of the windows, since it is remarkable that the glazed apertures which

existed prior to that date were seldom more than ten inches wide between one munnion and another. These apertures became wider towards the end of the sixteenth and great part of the seventeenth century; for these being more convenient than the earliest windows, are more frequently to be met with.

The curious building near the church of St. Margaret, at Lynn Regis, in Norfolk,[1] erected by Walter Coney or Conys, mayor, in the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV, may be considered as one of the earliest and most perfect specimens of a timber building. It now no longer exists. The lower story consisted of a warehouse, and was not lighted by glass windows, but by open arches. This is also curious as a specimen of filling in with bricks, between the timbers, commonly called *bricknogging*,[2] but no regard was paid to the regularity of the general design; for it may be observed, as in a building at Sudbury and other buildings of the same date, that the gable ends and windows are of different sizes, and do not fall regularly over each other, nor do they range with the arches and brackets below; the joists and beams are of unequal sizes, and placed as it happened to be most convenient in the construction of the floors.

A remarkable timber-house at Sudbury had probably some enriched board at the gable end, which, being lost, has injured the whole effect of the building; the same irregularity in the disposition of the windows, joists, etc., is to be observed as in the timber-house at Lynn Regis,[3] and also in Coventry.[4]

There was, near the market-place in Norwich, a curious building (now destroyed) of the date of Henry VIII, with overhanging projections of the different floors, but instead of the joists being seen, supported by brackets, the underside was formed by coves, executed either in plaster or thin pieces of oak, with small oak ribs. This building had a long series of windows along the whole front. This is very common in the modern houses in Norwich, to give light to the manufactories, and was probably originally

[1] See "Gentleman's Magazine", vol. xix, March 1843.

[2] A portion of this structure is represented in the wood-cut at the head of this article.

[3] Gent. Mag. vol. xix, March 1843.

[4] Ib. vol. xvii, April 1842.

copied from windows of this kind, which often prevail in old timber-houses. At Knole, in Kent, the long narrow gallery, now called the Reformer's Gallery, had a continued window of this kind; and this room was formerly used for embroidery, when part of the state of a palace consisted in visiting the works of art so carried on by ladies of the household. A specimen of the long row of windows may be seen at Moreton Hall, in Cheshire.

The well-known timber-house of sir Paul Pindar in Bishopsgate-street Without, was built in the reign of James I, according to the date on the archway, 1611.[1] The additional brick building above the arch has the date 1672, and the windows over it, instead of the ovolo munnions, like the old part, had small square frames glazed with oblong panes, when the old bow-windows were new glazed at the time. The wooden arch with its date is gone, and the casement windows above it have since been altered to sashes.

The lower story of houses being mostly inhabited, is generally the first to undergo alterations; whence it is very rare that the ground-floors of timber-houses can be found in their original state.

A timber-house at Exeter[2] shews the form of the bow, or bay window, projecting round over each story; these projecting bows may be found of an earlier date at Knole, in Kent: square bows may sometimes be found round over each story, as at Shrewsbury, etc., but commonly over entrance porches.

In considering the details of timber-houses, it may not be unnecessary to enumerate the different methods of ornamenting the walls.

First.—The upright timbers, or studworks, are either plain, or ornamented with pinnacles, panels, etc., as in Ford's Hospital, Coventry (visited by the Association in 1847, during the Warwick Congress), as also in a curious timber-house in the market place at Newark, in Nottinghamshire, while the spaces between the timbers are filled with clay, or plaster.

[1] It was in this year that sir Paul Pindar was appointed ambassador to the Grand Seignor. He resided at Constantinople nine years, and died in 1650, at the age of eighty-four. A good representation of the house, taken in 1843, may be seen in Part II of Archer's "Vestiges of Old London".

[2] Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxix, May 1848.

Secondly.—The spaces between the timbers are sometimes filled with bricks, instead of clay, in various designs, of which the zig-zag is the most common (see wood-cut, page 97, *ante*).

Thirdly.—The studwork, instead of being plain, and flat with the plaster of the walls, sometimes projects forward with the mouldings, and is sometimes ornamented with small arches and tracery, as in a curious timber-house near Kelvedon, in Essex, now destroyed.

Fourthly.—The timber framed in *square panels*, and filled with various designs, and sometimes crossed in a diagonal direction, as in several specimens to be found in Staffordshire, Shropshire, Cheshire, etc. A few old timber-houses near Hever Castle, in Kent, are worthy of notice.

Fifthly.—The face of the wall in some buildings, instead of the timbers being seen, is entirely covered with plaster, enriched by various ornaments, as leaves, scrolls, etc. This style may be traced as early as the reign of Henry VIII. See the timber-house represented in the background of a picture formerly in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, but now at Hampton Court: specimens of the same kind may be observed as late as the end of the seventeenth century, as at Bury, Ipswich, etc.

Sixthly.—In some walls covered with plaster, the ornaments, etc., are painted black, with little or no relief, as at Newmarket, etc.

In many of the old timber-houses in the west of England, the timbers are painted black: the following is a quotation from the *History of Hengrave* (p. 202):—"For plastering and whitening the forefront of my m^r. his house in Coleman-street, and the courte, with the *blacking the timberwork*, xlij*s.* vi*d.*"

Seventhly.—Instead of the walls being entirely covered with plaster ornaments, they were enriched in panels between the studwork; these panels were frequently carved in oak, as may still be found in Fleet-street, near Temple Bar; in Bishopsgate-street, etc.

Eighthly.—The walls are sometimes covered with tiles in various forms, but chiefly those in imitation of fish-scales.

Specimens of barge-boards to the gable ends of timber-houses may be seen in the following cuts, taken—1, from

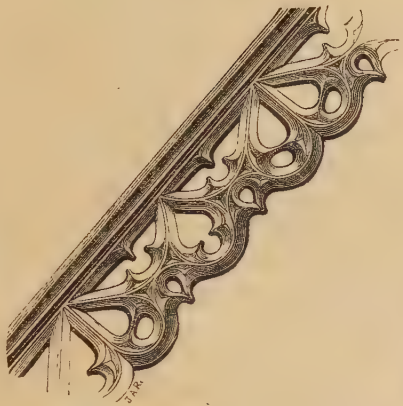


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

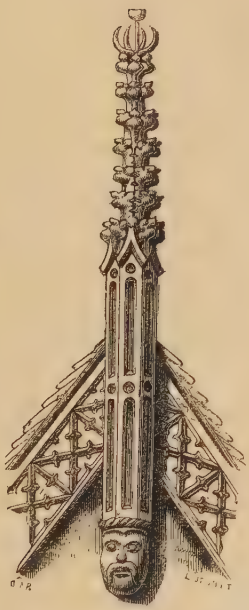


Fig. 4.

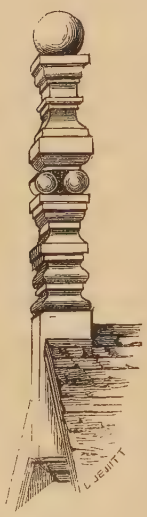
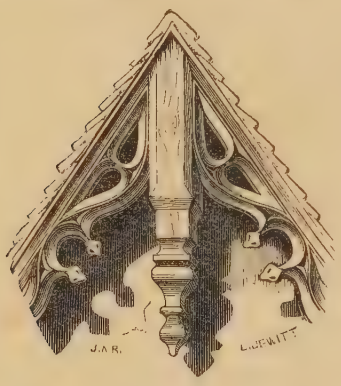


Fig. 5.

Winchester; 2, from Salisbury; and 3, from Canterbury. They are of the date ranging from Henry VII to Elizabeth. Specimens might also easily be selected from the time of Elizabeth to that of Charles I or II, offered in Mark's Hall, Essex; Clapton, near Lea-bridge; Warley, Essex; Finchinfield, Essex; Hodgley Farm, Essex; Brentwood, Essex; and at Norwich.

Good illustrations of the pinnacle are afforded in fig. 4, from Shrewsbury, of the date from 1570 to 1600, and fig. 5, from Ipswich, of the time of James I; and of the pendant, before the close of the sixteenth century, from Canterbury, in the adjoined cut. Many specimens might be given from the reign of James I to that of Charles II.



The brackets which support the overhanging projections of the different floors, from the reign of Henry VI to Elizabeth, are often very highly enriched, particularly at the corners of the timber-houses;[1] another specimen from Ipswich;[2] and also plate VIII, fig. 2, from the Old White Horse, Ipswich, which has disappeared since the sketch was taken.

It may be observed that figures of angels, monks, etc., supporting shields, were often represented in buildings erected before the Reformation; but when the Italian architecture was introduced into England, the sculpture consisted chiefly of monsters, satyrs, etc., and afterwards from the fanciful designs of consoles, to the regular scrolls with the leaf of the acanthus.

The bracket may be considered of great utility in the construction of timber-buildings, in order to keep the upright timbers, with the joists and beams, firm in their places; for in many cases where the brackets have been omitted, the ends of the joists have been found to bend down, and the walls on the upper stories to lean forward

[1] Gentleman's Mag. vol. xix, March 1843. [2] Ib.

beyond the perpendicular line. When two or more houses are joined together as in a street, they are generally separated by a wall, which also projects with the timber-work, and is then supported by brick, or stone corbels.

In various specimens of windows, illustrative of the progressive change from the reign of Henry VIII to the end of the eighteenth century, we may observe that in the earliest, the apertures of the windows between the munnions are long and narrow; but from the beginning to the middle of the seventeenth century, the apertures became gradually wider, and were divided by a cross bar. In a window at Colchester, now destroyed, it had the date of 1677. This style of window, with the arch and pendant, resembling the keystone, prevailed chiefly about the reign of Charles II and William III; at that period also prevailed the heavy modillion cornice, and small oval windows, on each side of the bay window, were frequently introduced, while the door was crowned by a niche, supported by consoles. The general form and character of this style was formerly much seen in different parts of London, except that the walls were chiefly of brick of which the ovals were formed, and only the bay windows were of timber, but carried up quite straight through three or four stories.

The first sash windows introduced into this country are supposed to be at Whitehall, about the time of Charles II (which were lately taken out, and larger panes inserted).

In the earliest introduction of the sash-window, they consisted of very small panes of glass with thick frames, not mitred, but filled with square blocks at the corners; the glass was chamfered at the edges (like the old-fashioned looking-glasses), which may still be found in the sash-windows at Hampton Court.

So late as the year 1685, even at the magnificent palace at Winchester, begun by king Charles, and left unfinished at his death,—the windows consisted of small wooden frames, with square panes glazed in lead, with iron casements; these windows, since 1811, were taken out and replaced by light sash-windows.

It was not until about the reign of William III, that sash-windows begun to prevail. In the engraving of the procession of queen Anne, published in 1715, nearly two-

thirds of the houses in the Strand are represented with sash-windows.

A sash-window, in the reign of queen Anne, instead of being set in a reveal, is brought forward to the face of the wall; the boxings for the lines, weights, etc., exposed, and neat red brickwork round the windows, and sometimes a rude keystone. The panes to the early sash-windows are generally square, with very clumsy bars nearly two inches broad; and when the apertures of the windows are very wide, they are generally divided into four, five, or six equal parts, and glazed with rough coarse glass. A modern sash-window will be found recessed in the wall.

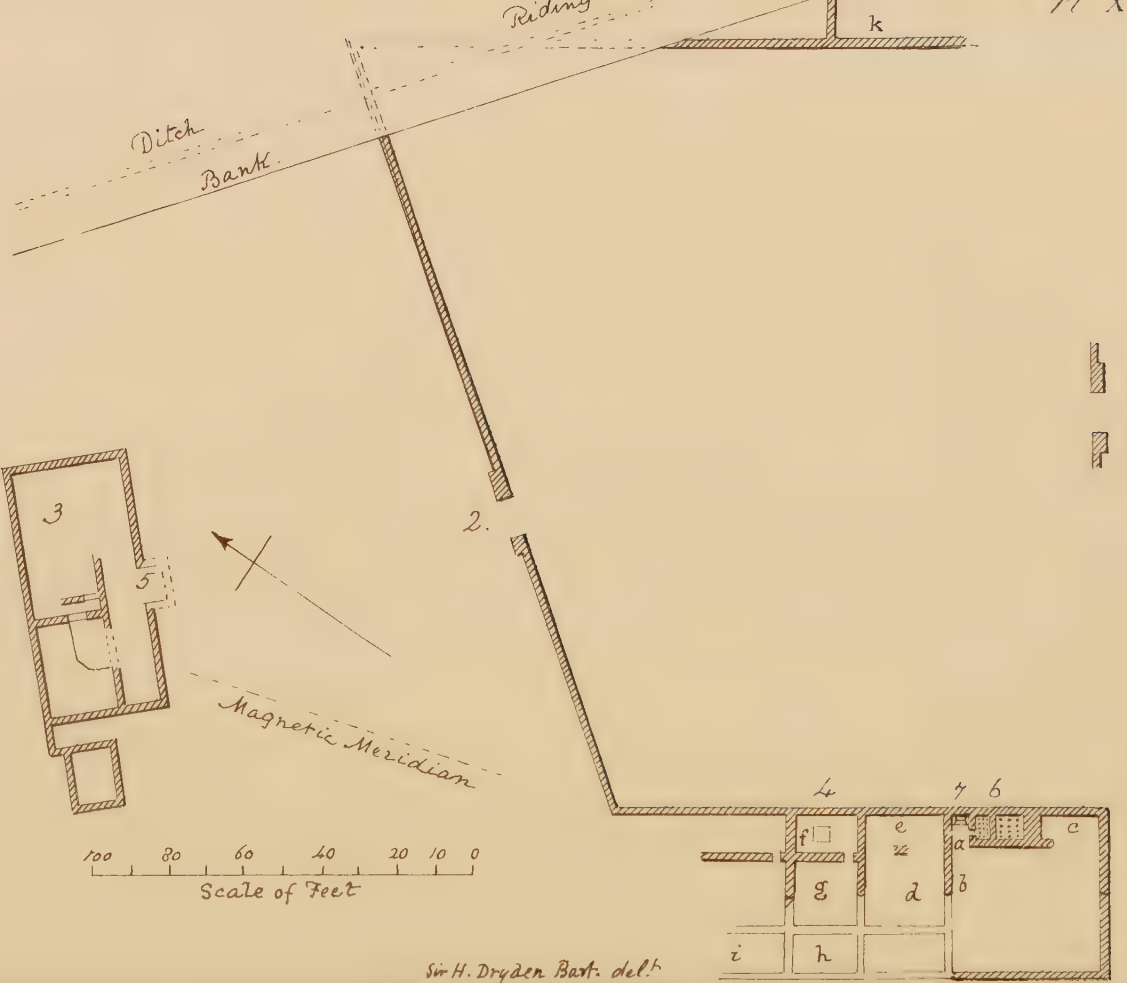
In the munnions to windows of the date from Henry VI to Edward VI, it may be observed that the tracery in woodwork is very different from those windows executed in stone, being carved out of a thin piece of oak, or chestnut, seldom more than one inch and a half or two inches thick, and their joining concealed by other mouldings in the munnions. Munnions to windows of the date from Elizabeth to Charles II, have ovolo mouldings. Square munnions prevailed from Charles II to the middle of the last century.

In plate IX are represented two timber-houses, in Leadenhall-street, London (now destroyed). The first may be considered to be of the date of Henry VIII; the second, about the time of Elizabeth or James.

The lower story of timber-houses was used for different purposes: those used as shops in the earliest specimens (long before the use of glass windows), were opened to the weather, and closed occasionally by flat shutters hanging from above. In an old china shop at Ipswich, the upper shutters were hung by gurnut hinges, and when opened, were fastened to the ceiling by hooks; the lower shutters (which are now fixed) were originally folded down to form a flap or table to hold goods, etc., when exposed for sale. This custom of open shops prevailed so late as the middle of the last century, but they are now seldom adopted except in butchers' shops, or warehouses for old iron, etc.[1]

When the lower stories of houses were not used as shops, they had glass windows, either flat with the wall, as at a house at Sudbury, or projecting forward as an oriel win-

[1] See Gentleman's Mag., vols. xvii and xix.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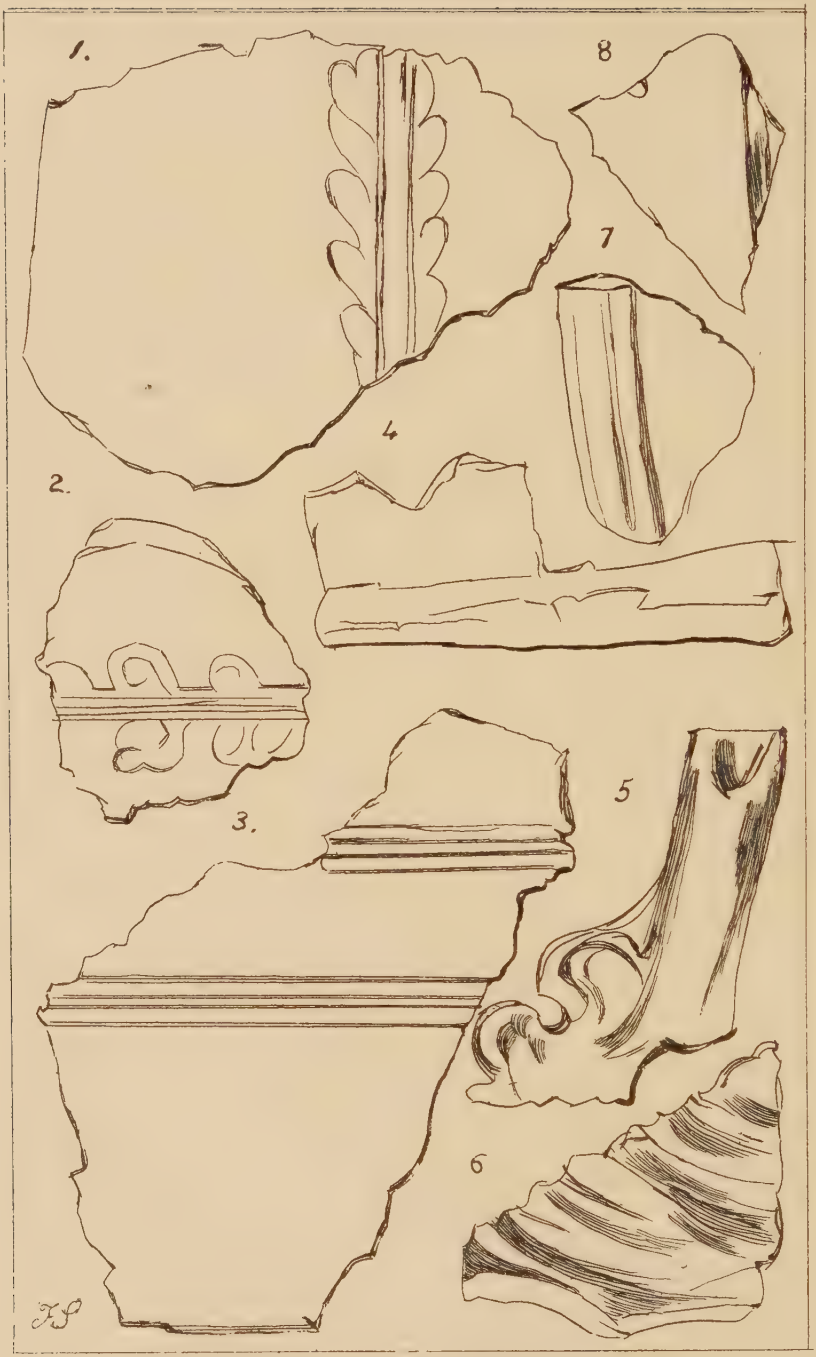
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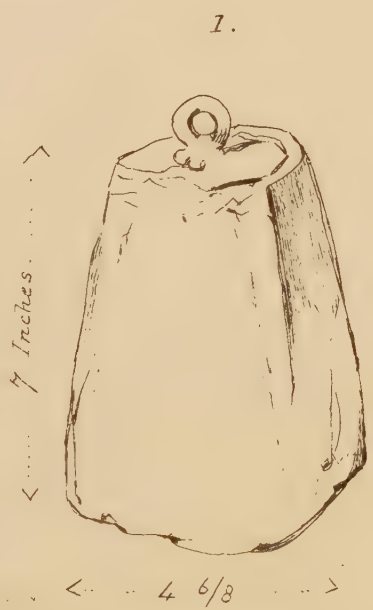
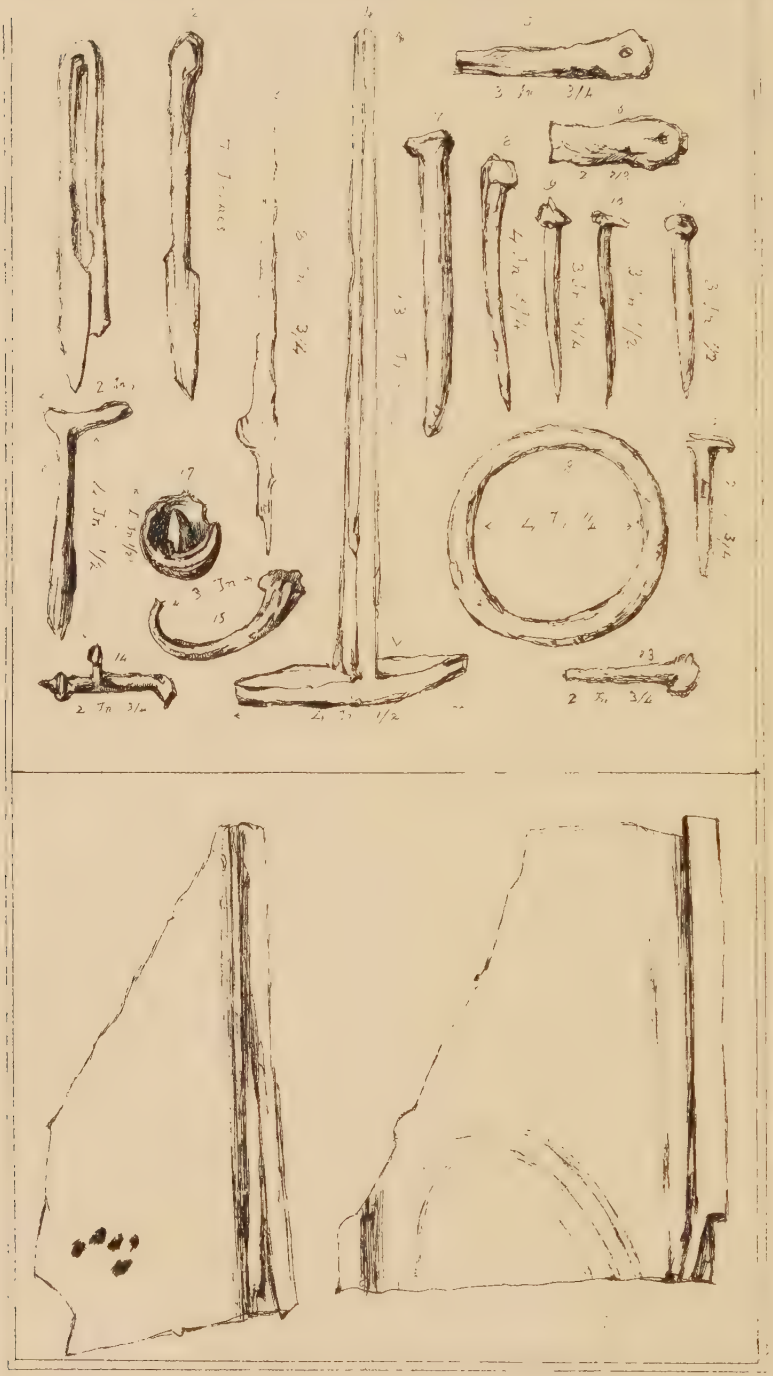
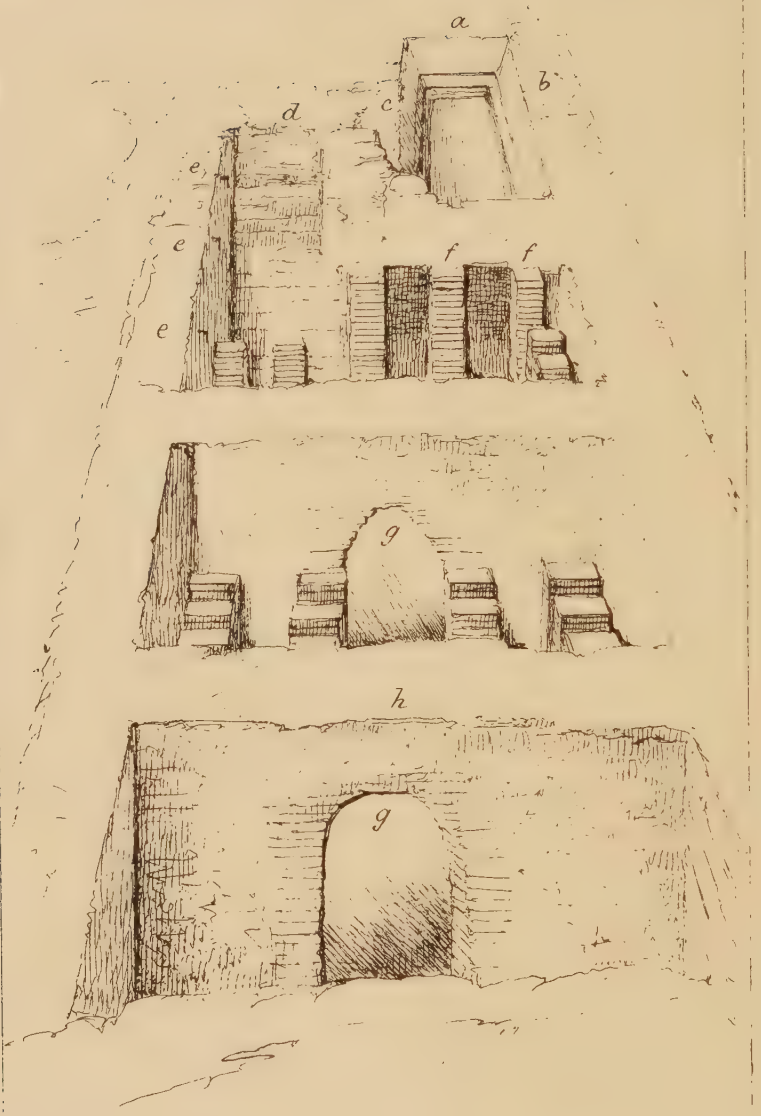


Pl. XIII.





P.

dow. There was formerly a beautiful specimen at Bury St. Edmund's, but no longer existing. (See plate VIII, fig. 1.) Sometimes the bow-windows on the ground floor, instead of an overhanging sill, rested upon a basement of brick or stone; these bow-windows, either supported by corbels or resting upon a basement, may be found as late as the end of the seventeenth century.

To conclude.—It may be observed that the progressive change in the style of architecture is perceptible at a much later period in small timber-houses than in churches, monasteries, palaces, and manor houses. The earliest introduction of Italian architecture (particularly in arabesque work) in this country, may perhaps be about the end of the reign of Henry VII, or the beginning of Henry VIII; but in small inferior buildings, the style of Gothic architecture may be traced as late as the reign of James I; and in doorways, the flat pointed arch may be seen as late as the middle of the seventeenth century.

ON THE DISCOVERY OF ROMAN REMAINS NEAR TOWCESTER.

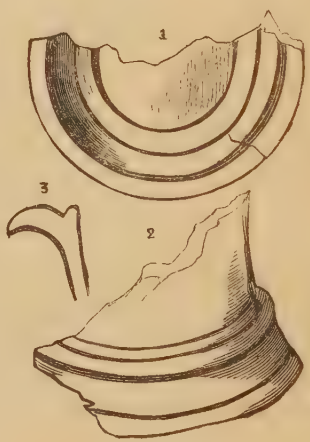
BY EDWARD PRETTY, ESQ.

In a former number of the *Journal* (see vol. vi, pp. 73-76) will be found a slight account of the very interesting discovery of a Roman villa in Whittlebury Forest, near Towcester. At the time this notice appeared, the excavations were proceeding, and further discoveries have since been made.

The accompanying plan (plate x), for which we are indebted to the industry and courtesy of sir Henry Dryden, bart., will afford an accurate idea of the arrangement of the foundations hitherto exposed. A square intrenchment however surrounded the buildings, which is not shewn in

the plan. The approach appears originally to have been from the south-east, by a centre gateway (fig. 1) opening into a spacious area of about one hundred and ninety-five feet by about one hundred and fifty feet. In nearly a direct line opposite, another gateway (fig. 2) led to the second building (fig. 3), alluded to in vol. vi, pp. 73, 74. The site of the mosaic pavement, of which plate XI is a representation, is marked fig. 4 on the plan. In taking up the tesseræ forming the outer space above the head, two skeletons were found, evidently regular interments. They were probably male and female, one being smaller than the other. The heads lay westward, and in accordance with the present system of Christian burial. The corresponding space below the figure has not yet been broken up; but the workmen say, that on striking it with the pickaxe, a ringing sound as of iron beneath was perceptible. It may be hoped that some interment of interest will here be discovered. The urn alluded to as being found on the east side was erroneously described in our former paper as being eighteen inches high; upon examination, it appears to be but eight inches. It is represented in the accompanying cut, *a*. Its diameter is seven inches, and

a.

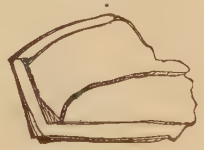


b.

its colour of a reddish-drab, not a dark grey; and sprinkled or granulated with fine particles of quartz. A fragment of a mortarium of a light buff colour, similar to the one described in vol. vi, p. 57, of the *Journal*, by Mr. Jewitt,

as found at Headington, was sprinkled in a similar manner. It is somewhat singular that so few fragments of mortaria have been discovered in this locality. I have met with but one besides the present, which was found at the delf between Towcester and Abthorp. It bears the potter's mark on the rim, PERTVI.M. The moulding (of which a section is given in cut *b*, page 108, fig. 3) varies from the many specimens given by Mr. Jewitt. Figures 1 and 2, of the same cut, represent a fragment of the base of a hollow column in terra cotta, measuring about seven or seven and a half inches across the bottom. Many flue tiles were found with the usual rude fret ornament; but the shape may perhaps merit observation, one end of some of them being considerably deeper than the other.

A fragment of grey ware resembling the bottom of a colander, or watering-pot spout, was found, punctured from the exterior, and about three inches in diameter. A piece of pottery, probably of the same kind of ware as that described in plate VII, vol. vi, as being found at Headington, is beaded or moulded on the surface, and red stripes drawn across. A fragment of an urn of a reddish ware was blackened; it was surface drawn. A very delicate kind of ware occurs, which, when first exposed, has a resemblance in brightness of colour to the Samian, but soon changes to an orange red tint. The fabric appears to be a white, and the red colour impasted over it. One piece was of this description, and blackened in the inside. A bottom of a patera had a border stamped on it of the single guilloche pattern. A patera of black ware was also found (see the annexed cut).



Pieces of red stucco, ornamented with white borders and green and white border, were found (plate XII, figs. 1, 2, 3); also, a fragment of the rim of a glass patera (fig. 7) of a dark green colour, resembling in form one described by Mr. Jewitt, vol. vi, p. 67. A similar piece, but of a light blue colour (fig. 8), was discovered recently at Towcester, in digging the foundation for a public building.

The pavement, at plate X, fig. 5, in the porch, or entrance, consists of a square border of red and white tesseræ surrounding a single guilloche pattern of grey,

red, drab, and white tesseræ. Within the square is a series of red crosses surrounded by frets of grey and red tesseræ.

In this instance, there is no doubt of the sacred character of the emblem of the cross; it is probably intended for that of Constantine; and the latest instance perhaps of its use, is on the Portuguese coins. I have one now before me with a cross of the same description, and the motto used by Constantine, IN.HOC.SIGNO.VINCES. If not intended for a Christian emblem, it may be "Aleph" (Sarapis), the name ever divine, as described by Dr. Jessop, vol. vi, p. 69. The cross (Greek) occurs at Horkstone (see Lysons), and also at Harpole (see *Journal*, vol. vi, plate XVI, p. 126); and again, on a piece of Samian ware found at Cataractonum (Catterick Bridge). — See *Journal* of the Archæological Institute (1849), pp. 81 and 82; The monogram of Christ also occurred at Frampton, in Dorsetshire.

In the improvements made on the Holyhead road, in 1829, at the gullet, seven feet under the old road, a consular coin of the Antonine family, serrated on the edge (see King, *Nummi Familiar. Roman.*, No. XXIII, tab. iii), was found. The first coin found in the building near the pavement, was a very fine one, of second brass, of Maximinianus,—for an impression of which, I am indebted to the courtesy of her grace the duchess of Grafton, who has the original in her possession; also, a few of small brass, of the Constantine family. Of the nature of the buildings forming this villa residence, we can only guess from analogy. Some have been induced to imagine it of a sepulchral character, from the skeletons found within the various rooms. In vol. vi, p. 74, we have endeavoured to account for their appearance, in consequence of some sudden calamity. So far perhaps as regards those skeletons found on the surface of the floors, this conjecture may appear probable. How far this villa may have been the residence of some influential officer connected with the station at Lactodorum, we will endeavour to shew by its situation with regard to the small military posts and the Roman remains discovered in this locality.

From the situation of the station Lactodorum (at Towcester) being situated in low ground, it would be necessary

to protect it from a sudden surprise; accordingly we find at points leading to the other stations in the vicinity, remains of earthworks, or buildings, by which no doubt communications were readily obtained by signal with other stations, such as the commandery point, where Roman antiquities have been found adjoining the church at Whittlebury, on the Bicester side; at the delf on the Abthorp road, near Foscote, from which a beacon tumulus could be seen behind Bradden, in the direction of Brinavis (Chipping Warden): the Bury at Alderton, which by means of a tumulus at Bury hill, near Blisworth, would communicate with the villa at Gayton—(the camp at Guilsborough could be likewise signalled from the villa, and from thence to Harborough towards Leicester)—and Wade hill to Borough hill in that direction. Castlethorpe could be seen from Alderton, but as the entrenchment at Alderton could not be observed from the villa in Holton Copse, there is a small earth work for a beacon on Honey hill to form a chain of communication. From the depth of the foss at Aldertonbury, towards the north, it appears to have been raised for the purpose of guarding against an enemy in that direction. In the adjoining parish of Potterspury is a site known as Moor-end castle. We have no account of the date of any erection, or of its demolition; but Bridges supposed "that this and the neighbouring castle at Alderton were both built in the reign of king Stephen", as Baker observes, "the most prolific era of castle building": no doubt many of the earth works have been attributed to that time, when in fact no such erection, beyond the entrenchment, ever occurred. Some years since, the foundations of Moor-end castle were dug up, and a friend, who was present, remarked the extreme thickness of the walls, being such as to admit carts to be backed along the width of them; he observed quantities of Roman tiles among the materials, and Baker states that the tenant obtained above two thousand yards of stone. It was a rectangular building, with a tower at each angle. In a field adjoining, towards the Watling-street, are tumuli, one of an oblong shape, and two circular,[1] and similar tumuli occur at Grafton to the north.

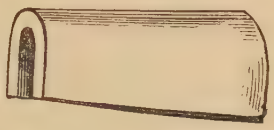
[1] In a letter from our worthy local member of the Council, W. T. P. Shortt, esq., of Exeter, he says, "The tumuli you note apart from the family ones were those of the freedmen or liberati".

As the manor of Potterspury (in which parish Moor-end is situate) in the time of Edward the Confessor belonged to earl Tosti, this may probably have been his residence, the Saxons occupying the buildings of their predecessors. In fact this fortress, with Aldertonbury, may have been of the description spoken of by Vegetius, who says, "It is particularly incumbent on the general to provide for the protection of the pastures, and of the convoys of corn and other provisions, either in camp or garrison; and to secure the wood, water, and forage, against the incursions of the enemy. This can only be effected by posting detachments advantageously in the cities, or walled castles, on the road along which the convoys advance; and if no fortifications are to be met with, slight forts must be built in proper situations, surrounded with large ditches, for the reception of detachments of horse and foot, whereby the convoys will be effectually covered; for an enemy will scarce venture far into a country where he knows his adversary's troops are so disposed as to be ready to encompass him on all sides" (*Clarke's Vegetius*, b. iii, p. 113).

In the former part of the paper, vol. vi, p. 75, it is mentioned, that among the relics discovered at that time, were fragments of thin white glass pateras; a section of one is now given in the wood-cut adjoined. The fragment of a handle and bottom of a glass præfericulum, in plate XII, figs. 5 and 6; three stone weights, with iron rings, fastened in with lead, as represented in plate XIII. No. 1 is seven inches high, and four inches and six-eighths in diameter at the bottom, of a square shape, slightly rounded, and splayed at the angles; No. 2 is square, seven inches high, and four and a half inches at the bottom; No. 3 is round, five and three quarter inches high, and the diameter at top two and three eighths, and at bottom four and a quarter inches. The iron articles are arranged on plate XIV. No. 1, a pair of scissors, or shears; No. 2, a knife; No. 3, a stiletto; Nos. 4, 7, and 16, stanchions; Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 15, nails; Nos. 12, 13, and 14, bolts; No. 17, an iron boss, with a strong point to fasten it on to the end of a staff: Nos. 5 and 6 are doubtful as to their uses,—holes were pierced at the ends; No. 18, an iron ring.

On plate XIV are also portions of two tiles, on one of which are impressions of the foot of an animal, probably a dog, and on the other, circular lines, surface-drawn.

Tiles like some forms of modern draining tiles were found, but narrower at one end to admit of their lapping over (see cuts).



This villa appears to have been built in a similar manner to others found in Gloucestershire, Kent, and Oxfordshire. The roof had been covered with lozenge-shaped tiles fastened at one of the corners, and arranged like scales. In the hypocaust (plate x, fig. 6, and view, plate xv), the piers and arches were formed of Roman tiles, and the bath (plate x, fig. 7) was covered with a red-coloured cement. Iron stanchions (plate xv, *e e e*) were still remaining in the wall on the south-west side near the doorway leading from the bath, which had been closed up, as shewn in plate xv, *d*. Bones of oxen, deer, etc., were found. Oyster-shells were also among the relics, as well as at Borough hill, which shews that the inhabitants must have had a rapid communication with the coast. The distance from the sea gave rise to an old proverb, particularly applicable to this county, namely, "The mayor of Northampton opens oysters with his dagger".

A bronze pin or style was found with a ring attached, ornamented with lines. The ivory or bone pin is similar to other pins discovered at Towcester.

The base of a column, spoken of in vol. vi, p. 75, is exceedingly well moulded. Similar ones have been found at Castor, Mincing-lane, London, and other places. Stones were found, similar to those described by the late Mr. Artis as polishing stones used by the potters. One of these, of elliptical shape, seven inches long, and smooth, was selected from the relics. Could these stones have been used for domestic purposes, such as bruising corn? A piece of slate had evidently been cut for the pattern of a moulding, and some of the flange tiles had been very carefully

moulded at their mortice joints. An irregular-shaped stone had been pierced, probably intended for a weight. An iron key (plate XII, fig. 4) is particularly plain in its formation.

References to the Plan. Plate X.

1. Centre gateway.
2. A second gateway, leading to
3. The second building.
4. Site of the mosaic pavement, represented in plate XI.
5. Site of another pavement.
6. Hypocaust.
7. The bath.

a. Weights and two human skeletons found here.
b. The skeletons of a dog and a child.
c. Deep hole filled with ashes.
d. Scissors.
e. Two skeletons.
f. Two more skeletons.
g. Another.
h. Another.
i. Pillar.
k. Urn.

References to Plate XV.

a. The bath.
b. Situation of the waste pipe.
c. Entrance to the bath.
d. Doorway blocked up, leading from the bath passage into the hypocaust.
e e e. Iron stanchions in the wall.
f f. At these intervals between the piers the soot was very strong and offensive at the first opening into it.
g g. Arches formed of Roman tile.
h. On this part of the wall the mortar was of a fine quality, mixed with pounded tile, supposed to be of the description called *opus signinum*.

ON THE COINS OF CUNOBELINE AND OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

PART XII.

CELTIC TITULAR NAMES.

The advance made in modern times in various branches of human knowledge, arises from the scientific application of facts; a remark which may be borne in mind with advantage in the consideration of our subject of British coins. Whoever would undertake to explain them, is especially bound to consider the national habits, manners, and customs of the ancient Celts, of whom the Britons formed part and parcel, and by no means to intrench himself in the superficial idea, suggested by the circumstance of many types being reproduced in the one from the other, that the British coinage is a mere prolongation of the Roman, and is to be explained according to such hypothesis. This error, not being substantiated on any proper and sufficient basis, should be absolutely rejected; and under the full impression that the subject is best advanced by obtaining correct views of the genius of the ancient Celtic institutions and customs, we have entered upon the present research as to the forms in which the names of their leaders and great men were current among the people. It may be added, that we appear to have titular names adopted to a greater extent in Celtic states than we can otherwise find exemplified in ancient or modern times. This may be asserted, though it perhaps may not be justifiable to go so far as M. Amédée Thierry, in his *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii, p. 8, and vol. iii, p. 97, whose opinion it is that we are acquainted solely with the titular names of the Gaulish chiefs, and that their personal names are not come down to us.

Regarding the materials for the present research, we become informed of these Celtic designations through the

medium of classic historians, medals, and chronicles. For the titular distinctions of the Celts of the continent, we have the modern works of Lelewel, De la Saussaye, De Lagoy, Duchalais, and Lambert, who give numerous monetary inscriptions. For the Celts of Britain, though the work of our countryman Ruding is not sufficiently comprehensive, yet we have recent discoveries of new types brought forward by various numismatists,—as by Mr. C. Roach Smith, Mr. Akerman, and others,—which do in fact increase in number the instances in point. We may now briefly proceed to notice some leading features of the subject.

Of the titular names of Gaul, the greater part are very evidently connected with the Celtic word *rex* or *rix*—*i.e.*, king. The instances of this, as Dumnorix, Dubnorex, Cantorix, etc., etc. (see Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Lelewel's *Type Gaulois*, and De la Saussaye's *Monnaies des Eduens*, 8vo. 1846) are too numerous to render a lengthened citation of them necessary. We may only refer to the alleged fact, that this word *rex*, or *rix*, is convertible, in some instances, when in composition with the termination *illil*, which appears to be admitted by the marquis De Lagoy (see his *Essai de Monographie*, 4to., Aix, 1847, p. 18). Thus Ambiorix is written also Ambilil, and Indutiomarus, Indutillil (see Lelewel, *Type Gaulois*, p. 247); and we may remark on this, that it seems an etymological point which still remains for Celtic scholars, duly to ascertain the precise import of the substitute. To proceed. There is one instance where the Celtic word *ver* (high), is connected with the title *rix*. This is in the name of the chief, Vercingetorix, who was appointed generalissimo of the Gauls, when, in the sixth year of Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul, after having been reduced to subjection, they revolted, and, combating under this leader, successfully resisted the Roman arms for some considerable length of time (*Gaulish Wars*, vii, 4). *Ver* also appears to be united in a way we cannot consider as accidental, to *rix*, in our British name Vericus; as we have essentially the words *ver* (high), and *rix* (king), in that name. Among other Gaulish names, we have a few connected with hereditary succession, as Atepilos, head of the race (*Lelewel*, vi, 35); Atpili (De la Saussaye's *Monnaies des Eduens*, and other authorities), the same. Epillos,

hereditary king; and Epenos, prince, or offspring of the race (*Lelewel*, p. 246). The radical Celtic words, *pilla*, a race; *eppil*, offspring; and *pen*, a head,—may suggest these etymologies; and they are confirmed by the researches of Lelewel and his friend De Saulcy, a learned Frenchman. We have also a few instances connected with the title, *tagos*, or *tascio*,—as Tasgetius, Moritasgus, Togirix, or Docirix (*Duchalais*, pp. 236, 237), and Vertiscus (Cæsar's *Commentaries*); the last being a name bearing every indication of being compounded of *ver*, high, and the said title of honour, *tascio*, implying chief: the *a* being changed into *i*. At the same time with these titular appellations and distinctions, which we have noticed as above, many among the Gaulish chiefs adopted merely the name of their states, as Arivos Santonos, which is to be interpreted, Arivos, chief of the state of the Santones, a people of Gaul; and Atisios Remos, implying, Atisios, the chief of another state, the Remi; and, in the like manner, further instances might be adduced, as may be seen in Lelewel's *Type Gaulois*, and other works.

It is noticeable, that, on two of the occasions when the Gauls made their great incursions on the south and south-east of Europe, three or four centuries before the Christian era, the commanders of those expeditions had the appellations, not of *rix* or *rex*, but of Brennus, as Livy and Justin record. This is, however, admitted to imply king; the closely cognate word, *brenhin*, a king, being still in use in the modern Welch language. The other names of leaders of expeditions of those periods, as Belovesus, Sigovesus, Belgius, and Elitovius, mentioned by historians, appear to offer no obvious etymological features.

Some few other titular names of Gaulish chiefs, seem to imply chiefs of states or districts, as Commius, of which we have before explained the signification; and as the name Adcantuanus, mentioned in Cæsar's *Commentaries*, may possibly be considered to do, whether in its shorter or longer form, it being sometimes written Adiatonnus, and Adiatuunus, in manuscripts of Cæsar's *Commentaries* in the national library of France. On Gaulish coins, it is inscribed in the form, Adietuanus (see Duchalais, *Description de Médailles Gauloises*, 8vo. 1846, p. 16).

The title *Vercobretus*,—*i.e.*, chief legislator (see Cæsar's

Commentaries, *Gaulish Wars*, i, 16), was also in use among the Ædui, as noticed in former pages; and among the Lexovii, a Gaulish state at the mouth of the Seine, on its left bank (see *Lelewel*, pp. 181, 230, 284, and 321; *Lambert*, p. 44; and *Duchalais*, p. 128).

Some few likewise took names connected with their divinities, as Belinos and Boduognatus; as also Camulogenus (see *Lelewel*, and Cæsar's *Commentaries*). Of these names, the first referred to Belinus, the Celtic Apollo; the second, to the goddess Victory; and the third, to the Celtic god, Camulus.

Together with the above, it may be remarked, that a great portion of Gaulish names seem to have been merely personal; as Divitiacus, Acco, Cotus, and a great variety of others mentioned by Cæsar. These, of course, do not come within our present scope.

From Gaul we turn to Britain: and in relation to Britain, we find the title of rex twice mentioned by Cæsar in the names Cingetorix and Lugotorix (*Gaulish Wars*, v. 22). It occurs also on a coin of Cunobeline (*Ruding*, v. 19), and on the coins of the British Belgæ, namely, those inscribed Vericus, Vir, etc. A synonymous title seems to have also prevailed in Britain in the word "cuno", which equally appears to express king; and is found in the names Cunobeline, Cuneglas, and Maglocune, the last two names being given in the *History of Gildas*. This title "cuno",—the derivation of which Camden partially, and Baxter in his *Glossary* wholly mistook, as also did Peter Roberts, the learned Welchman (see his *Early History of the Britons*, 8vo, 1803, p. 110)—seems only to remind one of the Teutonic "könig", a king, and the Britons probably borrowed it from the Germans, through their brother Celts of the continent. Nor is the Gaulish coinage totally destitute of this title, as we may infer from the name Contoutos (*Duchalais*, p. 17), and some further instances might be adduced. We have already treated on former occasions of the titles Tascio and Eppillus as current among the Britons, the latter being confined to the Belgæ Proper of this island, that is the Belgæ of the south-eastern coasts, as appears by their coins.

As well as the above, the taking the names of divinities seems to have prevailed among rulers in Britain, which

custom among the Gauls we have already adverted to. We may cite, in corroboration, the names of the two insular kings, Cunobeline and Cassivelaunus (Cassibelinus) in which names the word Belinus, the designation, as we have before remarked, of the Celtic Apollo, appears to be introduced. These two instances may prepare us to meet with others of a like kind in this country. In other ancient nations, besides those of the Celtic class, the practice was not very uncommon. Among various proofs which might be adduced, we may refer to two the most familiarly known; the one exhibited in the case of the emperor Diocletian, who took the name of Jupiter, the other in that of Maximinian his partner in the empire, who similarly caused himself to be named after Hercules. (See Inscription in *Gruter*, cclxxx, 3, and other authorities.)

Further, the same as in the case of Gaul, we must not omit to remark that many names prevailed in Britain which were purely personal, as appears in Henry of Huntingdon's *History*, and in the latter, that is the most trustworthy part of Tysilio's *Chronicle*. Regarding also the long series of kings in the ancient British *Chronicles*, the names there given, whether genuine or not, are by far the greater part of this kind.

We have thus briefly set forth the principal points connected with titular names among the Celts. We may also add, that titular designations of course prevailed as well among the Teutones or Germans, though apparently not in the same degree. The scope of our present remarks does not extend to these. We may only observe, that in process of time, as the Roman empire extended itself far and wide, the same causes seem to have greatly checked the use of appellations of this kind throughout the ancient world, particularly where their sway was the more direct and coercing. Titles granted by a foreign power would naturally not be so gratifying as those conferred amidst the acclamations of popular elections, or according to long established and honoured hereditary succession; nor was the rule of the vassal kings, when obtained, strictly of a patriotic description, their office being not much more than to assist the Roman provincial governor in maintaining the sway of his countrymen and raising levies, and to

aid the governor's procurator in collecting tribute. Even Tacitus tells us, in his *Life of Agricola*, c. 14, of the little respect he had for the title of king, as granted by the Romans to their dependent princes. He calls them in that passage, "*instrumenta servitutis*"; implying that they were mere tools for riveting the chains of their countrymen. Hence the preference accustomed to be given to titular appellations may have somewhat abated, and personal names become more common, as applied to native princes and rulers. Some native kings had also military or civil rank in the Roman empire. Thus the Cogidubnus, mentioned by Tacitus, in another part of the chapter of the *Life of Agricola* we have just cited, as made king by Claudius over certain states in Britain, had also the high rank under his new master of "Legatus Cæsaris",—that is, commissioner or deputy of the emperor. See the Chichester inscription, as given in Gough's *Camden*, and other works. All these causes may have tended to remove the ancient association of ideas, as regarding the class of distinctions of which we are now speaking. However this might have been, it became the style of history to omit them to a very great degree, from the fourth century downwards, when vast hordes of barbarians burst into the Roman empire. Euphony suffered from the change; since titular names among partially civilized nations, from being in the mouths of many, have a natural tendency to lose their harsh gutturals and superfluous consonants, and to become more harmonious and pronounceable than others. Thus among the Celts the appellations, Ambilil, Commius, Ambiorix, Cunobelinus, and others, would hardly have disgraced the more polished languages of Europe. But in the times of the downfall of the Roman empire, we appear to have a congeries of most untunable barbarisms in the way of names presented to us, the prevalence of which there may be reason to think was influenced by the causes above cited. A reservation is, however, to be made as to the remote parts of Celtica, as the northern parts of Britain, Caledonia, Cambria, and Hibernia; since titular names seem to have prevailed in parts of Britain to the middle of the sixth century, and perhaps much later.

But here again another peculiarity becomes obvious.

A class of additions to names came into existence, which denoted some quality or defect of the persons to whom they applied. One was the long-handed (Caswallon Lawhir); another the strong-armed (Caradoc Vreichvras); another the unskilful (Cynvelyn Drwsgl); and other instances might be cited. (See various authorities.) But a like departure from the polish of Rome took place in other nations throughout Europe during the dark ages on the fall of the Roman empire. One sovereign was the bold, another the fair, another the bald, and so forth; and it is only to be regarded as a mark of declining civilization.

THE SOUTHERN BELGÆ OF BRITAIN; THE BELGÆ OF PTOLEMY.

The coins of this people, who occupied parts of Britain to the south of the Thames, have already been noticed on former occasions. Their usual legends were TINC, TIN, COM.F, VIR, EPPILLVS, etc., as of late has become sufficiently known. We have now to direct attention to a type which, though not theirs, has apparently some reference to them, which has been kindly communicated by H. Syer Cuming, esq., an able and active member of the British Archæological Association. The type in question is a coin of Marcus Agrippa, issued in his third consulship, or twenty-seven years before the Christian era, counterstruck with the word TIN, one of the above legends; and according to every presumption assignable to them. The coin is in brass; is believed to have been found at Seaford in Sussex, in the year 1820, and is here delineated by permission of the proprietor.

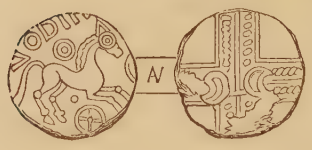
The usual types of the British Belgæ were either imitations of the coins of Tarentum, or formed on other classic models. In one instance (see *Journal*, vol. i, p. 304) they engraved the legend TIN, supposed to mean Tincontium, or

Winchester, on the die of a Celtic coin of an earlier age and much ruder class, presenting the type of the ornithocephalous horse, and itself a degenerate imitation of the staters of Macedonia. In thus explaining this rude type of theirs, we are strengthened by the opinion of the eminent numismatist C. R. Smith, esq., who says, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, p. 10, speaking of it, "that convenience may have been consulted in adding the new distinctive inscription to old dies." In the present instance they seem merely to have counterstruck their legend on a Roman type.

Respecting the locality of the Tincontium of these coins, if that be the word in full, no name is come down to us for Winchester from any classic or other source, coeval with Roman domination; and as two of the six types at present known have been found near this city, and the rest on the south-eastern coast, there seems a tolerably good reason for the assignment to it. There was a Tincontium in Gaul; and the Belgic Gauls may have transferred the name to this country, as they did others, from the continent.

NEW LEGEND.

In the beginning of the present year, 1851, a gold coin has been found near Cambridge, and is here delineated, from the original, that is, from a plaster cast, by the kind favour of C. R. Smith, esq.



Obverse, a horse to the right; underneath, a wheel; over the horse, a small wheel, or circle, and the word VODII; the concluding letters are cut off by the rim. Reverse, two crescents on a cruciform moulded ornament. There is not a reverse precisely similar in Ruding; but either the same type, or one very much resembling, is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and is engraved in Dr. Wise's *Catalogue*, plate XVI, 12, though, according to the engraving, it is uninscribed, or the inscription is obliterated.

In remark on our present type, it may be observed, that,

admitting the full legend to have been VODII(OC), or something of the kind, we shall get very nigh to the Celtic word *buddig*, interpreted to imply Victoria, and which was the name of Boadicea herself. Indeed, Welsh writers give the name still nearer, as Aregwedd Voeddig (see Owen's *Cambrian Biography*, 12mo. 1803, p. 11); but how the legend is to be interpreted, seems not easy to say. The Celtic word for victory, occurring on a coin, is not necessarily to be understood as a personal name, though there was a British princess of that appellation. Further, it may be observed, that the reverse resembles certain types usually attributed to Cunobeline; however, Cambridge, near which it was found, would have been in the kingdom of the Iceni. Should then this type be Icenian, several other types not hitherto suspected to have such origin, might also be similarly attributed. BEALE POSTE.

DIGEST OF TWO LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE FAMILY OF CLEMENCE, COUNTESS OF CHESTER.

FROM M. LEOPOLD DELISLE, ATTACHÉ AUX TRAVAUX HISTORIQUES DU MINISTRE DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE, PARIS; TO J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., MARCH 31ST AND MAY 22ND, 1851.

THE compact between the earl of Chester and William de Fougeres, which you have published in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association for the month of July 1850, has particularly attracted my attention. In order fully to illustrate the document you have edited, I have thought it desirable to draw up a genealogical table of the family of Fougeres, more correct, I believe, than those which have hitherto appeared in works on this subject, and which will rectify many points in the long article dedicated to it in the *Art de vérifier les Dates*.

1. Main.
2. Alfred.
3. Main 2nd. = Adelaide (who had by a previous marriage a son named Hugues).
4. Eudo. | Juthal. | Raoul. = Avicia.
5. Guillaume, died before 1112. | Main 3rd, surnamed Fransgualon. | Henri became a monk in the abbey of Savigni, A.D. 1150. | = Olive, daughter of Etienne Comte de Porhoet, and who married 2ndly Guillaume de St. Jean. | Robert. | Beatrix.
6. Raoul 2nd, obiit 1194. | Guillaume L'Angevin, obiit 1122. | Fransgualon. | Robert. : Aline, a nun, daughter of one of the above.
7. Juhel. | Guillaume, obiit 1187. = Agatha de Humet, who married 2ndly Tulle Paynal. | Henri. | Marguerite. = Waleran de Meulent.
8. Geoffrey, = Mathilde de Porhoet, obiit 1212. | Clemence = who married 2ndly { Alain de Dinan. / Ranulf E. of Chester.
9. Raoul 3rd, ob. 12 of February, 1257. | Isabelle de Craon.
10. Jean, born and died Nov. 6th, 1235. | Jeanne = Hugues de Luzignan.

1. Main is named by Main the husband of Adelaide in a charter relating to Louvigne (D. Morice, prs. 1, 410). The latter calls him his grandfather, "Mainonis avi mei".

2. Alfred is mentioned in the same charter of Louvigne. Main (2nd) calls him "Alfred genitor meus". A charter of Raoul, son of Henry (D. Morice, prs. 1, 606, cf. 650), mentions also "Anfredus de Filgeriis" as a benefactor to the church of Rillé.

3. Main (2nd).—We possess a charter of his for the abbey of Marmoutier, relative to Louvigne (*ib.* 410). The signature of "Mainus de Castro Felicense" is appended to a charter of the abbey of Mont Saint Michel,[1] concern-

[1] This is a confirmation of the charter of Main, bishop of Rennes: "Ego Mainus Redonensis episcopus in meo pontificatu, cum consensu cleri mei, duas ecclesias," etc.; and to it are appended two seals of Mainus de Castro Felicense and Adelaidis, *uxor* ejus. To another charter we find appended "Testes Main, episc. Juhel fil. Main de Filgeriis, Adelaidis *mater* ejus, Alvardus Bastardus, Alvi nepos ejus". And to one immediately following, "Testes Juhel fil. Mainonis Adelaidis mater ejus, Radulfus puer. Alvered frater Mainonis, Alveus nepos ejus". —J. R. P.

ing the churches of Villamie and Poillie (*ib.* 396). He is called "Maino homo militiæ sæculari deditus" in the charter by which he gives Savigni to Marmoutier (*ib.* 393 and 470), and "Maino miles Redonensi provinciæ" in a deed of the priory of St. Sauveur des Landes (*ib.* 393 and 394). Raoul, the son of Henri, calls him "Maino proavus meus" in a charter for the abbey of Rillé (*ib.* 606 and 650).

Adelaide, wife of Main, is named in all the five documents quoted in the preceding paragraph. We imagine she must have had a son named Hugues by a former husband; for in the charter relating to Villamie and Poillie, following the names of Main and Adelaide, we read "Juthales puer filius eorumdem", and immediately after "Hugo filius Adelaidis". Be this as it may, she survived her husband (Main) and her son Juthal. It was after their death, that in consequence of a vow made for her youngest son, Raoul, she founded the priory of Fougeres (*ib.* 423).

4. Eudo, mentioned in the charters of his father relative to St. Sauveur des Landes and Louvigne (*ib.* 393 and 410).

Juthal, named in the charters of the same Seigneur (de Fougeres), concerning St. Sauveur and Savigni (*ib.* 393, 394, and 470). He was an infant in 1050; at the period of the donation of the churches of Villamie and Poillie, his mother carried him in her arms, and to stop his crying a monk gave him twelve deniers (*ib.* 398). You have already seen that he died before his mother (*ib.* 423).

Raoul (1st) is well known as the founder of the abbey of Savigni in 1112.

Avicia, his wife,[1] is mentioned in the charters of the foundation of this abbey. Some curious details respecting her may be found in the notice of the college of Fougeres, which has been printed by D. Morice, pr. 1, 488.

5. Guillaume de Fougeres is stated to be dead, in the foundation charters of the abbey of Savigny, A.D. 1112.

Main (3rd), surnamed Fransgualon, mentioned in the same documents, appears to have succeeded his father Raoul. By this title he confirmed the grants to the priory of Fougeres (D. Morice, pr. 1, 424).

[1] She is called Havoise de Bienfait, by Dom. P. H. Morice, Hist. de Bretagne. —J. R. P.

Henri appears to have been the heir of his brother Main. We have many of his charters in the cartulary of Savigni. He became a monk in that abbey in 1150 (Chartul. Savign. Abrinc. xli). A charter of the abbey of Rillé contains some interesting details of that ceremony (D. Morice, pr. 1, 607).

Olive, his wife, was daughter of Etienne comte de Porhoet. She married, secondly, Guillaume de St. Jean. Her name and that of her second husband appear, in 1163, in the *Cartul. de la Luzerne* (MS. des Archives de la Manche), p. 19. At this period she enjoyed, as dowager, certain property which her first husband possessed in the Avranchin, near Pontorson. We have evidence in two charters in the cartulary of Savigni (Abrinc. n. xxviii and xxix), that the property situated at Moidre and at Verdun formed the dower (*doarium*) of Olive; that Guillaume de Saint Jean had disposed of these estates in favour of a governor of Pontorson; but shortly afterwards discovered that his wife, having only a life-interest in them, the donation was invalid. On the other hand, Raoul de Fougeres, issue of Olive by her first marriage, made over to the monks of Savigni the reversion of the property; and they, in order to enter upon it immediately, agreed to pay an annual pension to the said Olive, for the term of her natural life, of seven livres,—" monaie du Mans".

In England, Olive possessed the manor of Bennington, not as dower, but as portion (*maritagium*); that is to say, she held the property absolutely, and had not simply a life-interest in it, the estate being given to her by her parents. This appears from several deeds relating to this manor which we have preserved in France.

Robert, son of Raoul, is named in the foundation charter of Savigni, and in the charter of his brother Main relative to the priory of Fougeres.

Beatrice is only known to us through the latter document.

6. Raoul (2nd), son of Henri, is frequently named by the historians of the reign of Henry II of England. We have a great number of his charters still remaining. I will allude but to two. From the first, it appears that he took the cross in 1163 (Cartul. de Savign. Abrinc. xlix). The other, dated 1194 (D. Morice, pr. 1, 724), must have been

executed but a short time previous to his death; for we read in the *Chronique de Savigni*, under that very date of 1194, "Obiit Radulphus de Filgeriis apud Savigneium, xvii kal. Julii" (Baluze, Miscellanea, in 8vo., tom. ii, p. 317).[1]

Guillaume, surnamed l'Angevin; Conan, duke of Britany, having given him that name ("Andegavensis") in 1166 (Chartul. Savign. in dic. episc. No. lj.) This is the William de Fougeres who was a party to the compact with Ranulph earl of Chester. Two charters of Guillaume de Fougeres prove to us that he had, for some years, the management of the estates of Geoffrey, his grand-nephew: "In presentia mea constituti apud Filgerias in curia coram baronibus et hominibus meis me tunc custode terre Filgeriarum loco Gaufridi nepotis mei" (Chartul. Savign. Abrinc. n. cxxxxiii). In the other we read: "Facta est hic finalis concordia me concedente apud Filgerias et in plena curia recordata est a sigillo meo confirmata tempore quo tenebam et custodiebam terram loco et vice Gaufridi nepotis mei antequam ipse terram teneret" (*Ib.* Nedon, n. cx.). You will observe that here, as in another deed quoted hereafter, Guillaume is described as the uncle of Geoffrey, "*patruus*"..."*nepos*". Your document is more correct, in which are the words, "*proneptis*"..."*pronepos*". In 1211, Guillaume was one of the Bretons who testified that, according to the customs of their country, the husband could give to his wife the third part of his inheritance (Reg. Sacc. MS. de la Biblioth. de Rouen, fo. 55, col. 2). He died in 1212,[2] according to the *Chronique de Savigni:* "Obiit Willelmus de Filgeriis filius Henrici xiij kalendas Januarii" (Miscellanea ii, 317).

Fransgalon is named in several charters of his brother Raoul, concerning the abbeys of Rillé and Savigni (D. Morice, pr. 1, 606, 650; Chartul. Savign. Abrinc. xlix).

Robert is made known to us through the same docu-

[1] In "L'Art de vérifier les Dates". two wives are given to this Raoul—the first N. Giffard, the second Jeanne de Dol; but under the date of Nov. 9th, 1194, 6 of Rich. I, we find in the court rolls, the record of a plea at Westminster, in the names of Radulfus de Feugeres and *Juliana* his wife,—"*Cantabr. Rad. de Feug'es et Juliana* uxor ejus petentes et *Thomas de Basingeb're* tenēs concordati s't," etc. This date also shows that he could not have died in July 1194, and that therefore the date 1196, as given by other authorities, is probably the most correct.—J. R. P.

[2] There is the signature of a "Willelmus de Filgeriis", to a letter of Alain comte de Penthievre, as late as July 1219 (Dom Morice).—J. R. P.

ments.[1] One of these last-named brothers must have been the father of

ALINE, a nun.[2] Guillaume de Fougeres (l'Angevin) stipulates for the payment to his niece, Aline, a nun at Mortain, of the sixty sous, money of Anjou, which Raoul, his brother, had assigned to him at Romagni. In fact, we have, in the national archives, the mutilated original charter in which Raoul, seigneur de Fougeres, gives to his niece Aline, "xxx solidos Ænomanensium in redditu meo de Romagneo". Alain de Dinan appended his seal to this charter (Arch. Nat. l. 1146, 18). The same case contains a letter of Clemence countess of Chester, by which she confirms to her aunt, Aline, prioress of Mortain,—"Aeline, amite mee priorisse...xxx solidos ænomannensium quod Radulfus Filgeriarum dominus avus meus predicte Aeline nepte sue confirmaverat apud Romagneium." You will observe that these two documents speak of thirty sous, money of Mans, whilst in the compact you have published, it appears sixty sous, money of Anjou. We have collected many other examples establishing the fact, that, at this period, the money of Mans was of double the value of Norman or Angevine money.

7. JUHEL, named in the charters of his father Raoul, to Savigni and Rillé (Chartul. Savign. Abrinc. xxxi; D. Morice, pr. 1, 650).

GUILLAUME, also named by his father in the same documents. The date of his death is given in the chronicle of Savigni, under the year 1187: "Obiit Willelmus filius Radulphi Filgeriarum, vii idas Junii" (Miscellanea ii, 315).

AGATHA, daughter of the constable Guillaume de Hommet, is indicated as the wife of this Guillaume, in another passage of the chronicle (*ib.* 317). She married, secondly,

[1] Mentioned also in the court rolls, 13 Nov. 1194, 6 of Rich. I, and 7 May 1200, 1st of John.—J. R. P.

[2] The writer of the article in "L'Art de vérifier les Dates" (M. de Pommereul, lieut.-colonel d'artillerie), gives Henri another son, named Gaultier, and also three daughters—Alice, married to Robert Baron de Vitre; Anne, married to Robert de Montfort, seigneur de Hede; and a third, married to Robert Giffart. Aline might therefore be the daughter of any one of these. Robert Giffart appears as witness to a charter of Raoul de Fougeres, dated 1163; and a Guaterio (Walter) de Filgeriis is witness to a gift to the collegiate church of Vitre by Geoffrey abbot of St. Melaine, 1210; and in the chronicle of Robert abbot of Mont St. Michel, we find "Obiit Robertus de Monteforti et successit ei Hugo filius ejus *natus ex sorore Radulphus de Filgeriis*, 1179." There was also an Alan de Feugeres living in 1199. (*vide* Rot. Cur. Reg. vol. i, p. 419). —J. R. P.

Fulk Painel (*vide* Stapleton's Observations on the Great Rolls, ii, lvi).

Henri, mentioned by his father Raoul in a charter to Rillé, 1163 (D. Morice, pr. 1, 650).

Marguerite, daughter of Raoul, married, in 1189, Waleran, son of Robert de Meulan. The contract of marriage has been published by De la Roque (Hist. de la Maison de Harcourt, iii, 55), but very incorrectly. The most important error is in the date, which he has changed to 1179:[1] a better text has been given by D. Morice (pr. 1, 714). A copy of this contract, which does not appear to have been made use of by the old editors, is to be found in the cartulary of the priory of Beaumont le Roger, a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, at Paris. You will observe an allusion to this marriage in the treaty between Guillaume and Geoffrey de Fougeres, 25th of January 1204 (D. Morice, pr. 1, 798).

Geoffrey. I have already alluded to the administration of the estates of Geoffrey by William de Fougeres, his great uncle. A transaction dated 25th of July 1204, defines the respective rights of these two seigneurs (D. Morice, 1, 798). In 1208, Philip Augustus confirmed the treaty made between them (*ib.* 1, 810). Geoffrey died in 1212: "Obiit", says the chronicle of Savigni, "Gaufridus dominus Filgeriarum filius Willelmi et filius Agatha filia Wilhelmi de Humeto xviii kalendas Julii" (Miscell. ii, 317). In the compact published in the twenty-second number of the *Journal*, William de Fougeres charges his grand-nephew, Geoffrey, to assign as a wedding-portion to his sister Clemence, wife of the earl of Chester, the land which Raoul de Fougeres had possessed in the valley of Mortain, and which he had given to Clemence on her previous marriage with Alan de Dinan. We possess the deed which proves that Geoffrey fulfilled that condition: "Omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris ad quos presentes littere pervenirent, Gaufridus de Filgeriis salutem. Notum sit vobis me concessisse et dedisse Ranulfi comiti Cestrie cum Clementia sorore mea in liberum maritagium totum maritagium quod

[1] She appears to have been previously the wife of Count Guillaume Bertrand. Might not the date 1179 refer to her first marriage? (Anselm, Hist. de la Maison de France, vol. ii, page 406.) The same authority also gives Raoul a daughter named Mabilla, who married Alan, fourth vicomte de Rohan.—J. R. P.

cum ipsa datum fuit Alano de Dinnano priori marito suo Scilicet totam terram quam antecessores mei habuerunt in valla Moritonii cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus tam libere et integre ut Guillelmus de Sancto Johanne (Saint John le Thomas) illud habuit et tenuit anno et die quo fuit vivus et mortuus, qui scilicet Guillelmus totum illud habuit in maritagio cum Oliva, matre Radulf de Filgeriis, avi mei, atque si aliqua occasione interveniente non possum in terras predictas deliberare in aliis terris de hereditate mea in Anglia et Normannia illi perficiam ccc libras annuas ad monetam andegavensam. Quod cum facere non potero, in aliis terris de hereditate mea competenter facerem gratum predicti comitis de ccc libris eis perficiendis. Presens Willelmus de Humeto (de Hommet) constabularius Normaniæ, juravit hoc legitime tenendum et sigillo suo confirmavit his testibus Willelmo Constanciensi (de Constance) episcopo, Johanne abbate Alneti (Aunai) Ansgoto abbate de Lucerna (La Luzerne), Willelmo abbate de Hambeia (Hambie), testibus etiam et juratis his, Fulcone Paganello (Paniel), Willelmo Baiocensi (de Baieux), Hugone de Colonea (Coulenses), Hæseulfo de Subligneio (Subligni), Petro de Sancto Hilario (Saint Hilarie du Harcouet), Henrico de Humeto, Jordano de Humeto, Thoma de Humeto, Petro Rualeno (?), Juhello de Luthameria (La Lutumiere a Brix), Juhello Busiagen (?), Johanne de Humeto, Bartholomeo abbate, Radulfo de Agnis (Agneaux?). Copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; MS. du Supplément Français, No. 1028.

Matilda, wife of Geoffrey, was the daughter of Eudo, son of Eudo count de Porhoet. The articles of marriage were settled between William de Fougeres, son of Henry on the one part, and on the other by Eudo son of the count, Geoffrey de Chateaubriant and Guillaume de la Guerche (D. Morice, pr. 1, 799). Raoul, son of Geoffrey and Matilda, claimed in right of the latter the succession to count Eudo and to Eudo his son. One of the principal pretenders to this succession was Gui Mauvoisin, husband of Jeanne daughter of count Eudo, and consequently the aunt of Matilda.

Clemence, sister of Geoffrey, countess of Chester. I need not return to her further than to state, that Alan de Dinan, her first husband, chose for his place of sepulture the chapel of St. Catherine in the abbey of St. Savigni,

and that the charter in which his desire is expressed informs us that he was the son of Robert de Vitre. "Andreas Dominus Vitreii ab Alanus Dominus de Dinan omnibus Christi fidelibus etc....Sciatis quod nos elegimus domum de Savigneio ut ibi nos et fratres nostri Robertus et Jordinus sepulturum in capelle Sancte, Katerine ubi juxta dominum Robertum de Vitrieo patrum nostrum" (*Chartul. Savign. Redon.* No. lxxxij).

With JEANNE, daughter and heiress of Raoul III (son of Geoffrey) and Isabella de Craon, terminates the house of Fougeres, which during two centuries plays so brilliant a part in the annals of Brittany, Normandy and England.

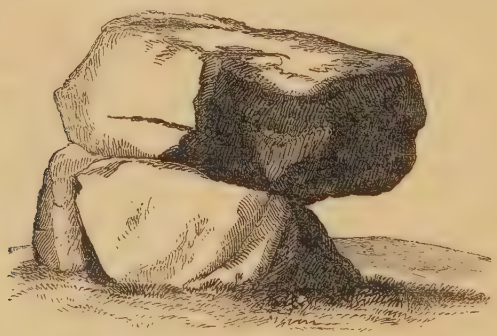
LEOPOLD DELISLE.

To this lucid and important communication of Mons. Delisle, I shall add but one or two very brief remarks. I need not dilate on the value of a paper which corrects most serious errors contained in works of such authority as those of Père Anselm, Lobineau, and the learned compilers of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates.* In the latter work, Geoffrey de Fougeres is made the *son* of Raoul II instead of the *grandson;* (Geoffrey distinctly says: "Radulfus de Filgeriis avi mei". He being the son of William de Fougeres, who died during the lifetime of his father Raoul), and consequently no mention is made of Clemence, who married Ranulf de Blundeville earl of Chester, whilst to Raoul a daughter is given named *Constance*, who is stated to have married *Hugues Comte de Chester* (Hugh de Kevillioc?). Anselm and Lobineau have fallen into a similar error in making Raoul, instead of his son William, the father of Clemence; and the proof here given of the death of William in 1187, clears up the uncertainty in which we are left by the "Pacification", printed in No. 22 of the *Journal*, and shews us how his uncle William L'Angevin, became naturally the grandson of his children, Geoffrey and Clemence, while it confirms my opinion respecting the bend by which the coat of Fougeres is differenced on the seal appended to that document. I cannot sufficiently urge upon our members and correspondents the importance of availing themselves of every opportunity of rectifying or verifying the minutest details affecting the genealogies of our Anglo-Norman families. Dry and uninteresting as

such communications may appear in the reading, the light which may be thrown upon history, biography, and heraldry by one spark elicited in such researches, is scarcely to be imagined by those who have not made these matters their study, or are inclined to trust implicitly to the lamentably imperfect and occasionally falsified pedigrees handed down to us. The cordial cooperation of a young and most intelligent antiquary, officially employed in the National Archives of France, is a subject of congratulation to the society. I am grateful to Mons. Delille for the information he has so kindly and promptly afforded us, and proud of being the medium he has chosen for its communication to the society. J. R. PLANCHÉ.

CURSORY REMARKS ON THE PRE-HISTORIC HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY WILLIAM BELL, PHIL. DOCT., HON. FOR. SEC.



The Auld Wive's Lift, near Craigmadden castle, Stirlingshire.[1]

WITHOUT entering into the question as to the universal practice of offerings, or of human sacrifices more particularly, it is certain that the latter obtained in the earliest

[1] See Wilson's "Archæology and Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland", pp. 66 and 99. The Association have to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. Wilson in the loan of the wood-cuts from his most excellent work, which accompany this paper.

stages of recorded history, in all countries: in Canaan, Carthage, and Gaul, as in Britain, in Scandinavia, and in Mexico, to comparatively modern periods. But it would lead us too far to go into the inquiry how the sacrifice of a fellow-creature, imbued with the same feelings, and possessed of our common nature, could have been thought to be acceptable to the deity. One of these reasons (if such they may be called) calculated that the soul or spirit of man was the highest oblation that man could bring, and that the seat of the human soul was placed in the blood; and this belief, when credence in witchcraft prevailed, was the principal reason why, in all compacts with the evil one, the bond must necessarily be sealed by blood actually drawn from the grantor victim, that, by its tradition to the grantee, a positive delivery of the soul might be effected. In this, following the frequent symbolical deliveries of the law courts of those days, in which the seizing of the land was performed by the delivery of a sod, or a straw (*stipulatio*), or other significant emblem.

As, by degrees, the natural feelings of humanity, and the progress of civilisation, superseded these barbarous and bloody offerings, symbols themselves began to take their places; yet many ages intervened, and many horrid practices were engrafted on the original idea, before the milder usage obtained general sanction and popularity. Two of these may be more particularly described, as they are not generally attended to, or not sufficiently considered. The first, the sacrifice of children; the second, self-immolation, —which have more immediately induced the symbolical self-sacrifices of which the Odin stones under consideration are the symbolical emblems, with thousands like them that are chronicled in Europe, and other thousands in other parts of the globe, that only await observation and description when attention has been drawn to them.

The repugnance of human nature, and the tenderness of parental feelings, are such, that the practice of sacrificing a child could only have been overcome by the direct command of the Deity, as we see in the instance of Abraham, the first on record; or its being implied, or supposed, as in the case of Jephtha, or Ahaz (2 Kings xvi, 3), though, from the words of the text, notwithstanding the stronger

language of 2 Chron. xxviii, 3, it may be charitably construed, that even so early the practice had passed into walking through or across the ashes of two fires. Still sufficient remains to assure us that the destruction of children prevailed in a great and murderous reality. The object sought was principally some personal advantage to the ruler, either of long life or great prosperity. In the *Yngl. Saga*, cap. 29, king On is said to have sacrificed nine sons successively to get as many reprieves from death; and Ivan IV, khan of Kief, made a sacrifice of three hundred children in a single day, to his god Churcho, to invoke prosperity and success. The idea of long life was often transferred to duration and durability of any kind, particularly in buildings, and, amongst those, more especially to bridges, whose foundations are generally so difficult to establish. Of children used to strengthen foundations, we find a remarkable instance in earliest British history, related by Nennius (Stephenson, Lond. 1838, p. 31, § 40), where, when various expedients had been vainly employed to build a famous tower, the soothsayers are consulted, "At illi responderunt 'Nisi infantem sine patre invenies et occidetur ille, et arx a sanguine suo aspergatur, nunquam ædificabatur in æternum'." I could adduce many examples of the bones and coffins of children having been found, on the destruction of old buildings, beneath their foundations. At the bottom of the old castle of Hurburg, a correspondent of Spiel and Sprangenburg's *Vaterländisches Archiv* tells us that many coffins of infants were found. Grimm relates, in *Deutsche Mythologie*, first edition, p. 340, that, at Copenhagen, a dyke or dam was to be built, but it gave way frequently; and that then a young and guileless girl was placed at the bottom, with a table of toys and eatables before her, and, whilst she was innocently engaged with these, twelve master masons built a vault over her, and a wall, their labours being accompanied by a band of music; and the erection ever afterwards stood firm. And *Zeunne Volksagen*, of Prussia, tells us of another dam required to resist the force of the Vistula at the Montaüer Spitze, where the Nogat (evidently a corruption of Neu gatt, or New-gate) leaves the main channel, in 1463. All efforts to get it firm were unavailing, till some one unknown declared that it would never stand until a living man was thrown into the gap. The

neighbouring peasantry, who had to uphold the dam, made a beggar drunk, who was thrown into the breach, and quickly covered with earth; and, "from that hour henceforward they were able, with a little trouble, to fill up the breach". The same or a similar story is current of the so-called Heiliger Damm near Rostock (vide Zöllner's *Reise*, p. 406). I do not know what reference the fact noticed in *The Times* of July 18th, 1849, "of a number of small metatarsal bones found *beneath the porch of St. Mary's church* at Derby", may have to this practice in England; but some lurking belief evidently exists, in an undercurrent of superstition, most probably since the days of Vortigern, of the efficacy or necessity of human victims to the security of edifices, particularly bridges.[1]

The evidences I have collected, that *parts of the body* were equally efficacious, are numerous beyond belief, but too voluminous even to allude to here, and have been sought for principally in reference to Shakespeare's "*finger of birth-strangled babe*". Particular power was placed in this member of procuring riches and long life to its possessor; but it must be of a babe unborn, "birth-strangled"; and only those of male children were considered efficacious. The other favourite member for fastening, or "*festmachen*", was the *head*. The head found in digging the foundations of the Capitol at Rome, and from which the building was subsequently named, is the first which strikes us, and is mentioned in Pliny, and in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with many particulars. Next, the famous head of St. Barbara, in Prussia, which induced the Teutonic Order to take her for their patron, and so many Prussian churches for their godmother: the story is too long for insertion, but may be found in Voight's *History of Ancient Prussia*, vol. ii, p. 429. And the Roman antefixes of heads on buildings, the heads on the Secundinian monument at Igel, etc., all take date from the same practice and ideas.

Besides these means of fastening buildings, men, and

[1] The Romans also required some stability for their bridges from adventitious aid; for in "Mem. des Antiq. de la Soc. de France", vol. xii, p. 47, in describing the destruction of a Roman bridge for the construction of the Canal de Bourgoyne, we read, "On a trouvé dans les joints des pierres qui formaient le corps de la chaussée *un fer à cheval*"; so that the horse-shoe must have there been in as great repute for safety as it is at present in every country. Horseshoe lore is very curious.

particularly soldiers, wished for some means of subjective fastening, of individual security, or, as the idiomatic term is in German, *fest zu sein;* and the means of becoming so are curious. One of the most potent means of invulnerability was being cut from the womb.[1] A count of Hoyer, of Mannsfeld, attributed all his constant luck in the Thirty Years' War to this circumstance. In boast of it he had a dollar coined, with this inscription:

> "Ich Graf Hoyer ungeboren
> Hab' noch nie ein Schlacht verloren."

Adventitious means were considered, and are still regarded, as equally efficacious; but my paper has not room to shew the relation of all these to the stones in question; which seems to be, that self-immolation, or offering, came to be considered as efficacious for obtaining or securing *any* benefit; and these passages through narrow holes symbolised such offerings perhaps, not without some retrospection of the Scripture announcement,—"*straight is the road, and narrow is the gate*", etc. Such are St. Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland, St. Winifred's Needle at Ripon, and many others in Great Britain; also one in Germany, where *Das Nadel-ohr*, a natural cleft in a rock by the road-side, on the Harz mountains, must still be crept through by every young waggoner who passes it for the first time. In France, the same superstition of health arising from inserting diseased limbs into holes in rocks,—probably remnants of Druid superstition,—near the small village of Douage (French *Archæolog.* vol. i, p. 428); another *pierre percée*, in Niederschorstadt, in Elsass, where passing through is good for the colic, etc. To this we owe the practice of immolating a shrew-mouse in the hole of an ash-tree, or its symbolical use in passing a rickety child through a cleft ash, and binding up the tree afterwards; also the common belief in Germany in the *Eichendopp*, or natural hole in

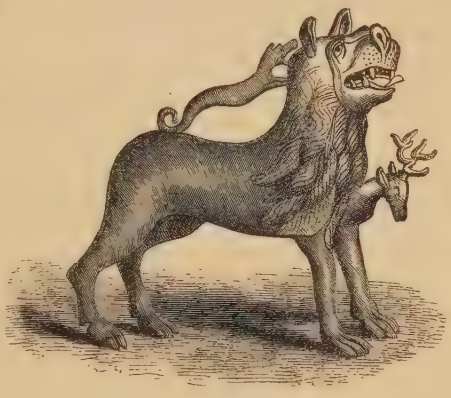
[1] It needs, I think, scarcely a doubt but that Macbeth's visit to the witches was for the purpose of being made *fest;* independently of the bloody hand which, in conformity with the general belief in the potency of its members, rises from the cauldron, and the finger used in the incantation, we have an *armed head,* and prediction of safety against all but another, *more potent by being unborn.* By this he

> "Shall spurn fate, scorn death, and bear
> His hopes 'bove wisdom, grace, and fear;
> And you all know, security
> Is mortals' chiefest enemy."

I have gone through the whole play with an eye to German lore and traditions, and the results are most curious.

the bole of an oak. Eimele says that he could get a remarkable celt from a bauer of the Pfalz, at no price, because the farmer kept it to put the teats of a cow through when dry, and that milk always came. These are true Odin's stones; and the trysting at these was only a natural consequence of their sanctity. The fair held in Ireland, noticed in the review of Wilde's *Boyne and Blackwater*, in the *Dublin Magazine* for March 1851, where the girls shew their middle fingers through the hole in a wall, to the lads on the other side, I look upon as a trysting-scene at an Odin's stone, on a large scale, misunderstood; and even the marriage ring is but a convenient and elegant symbol of this primeval practice carried over to the Christian religion.

The curious figure in the adjoining woodcut is a specimen, from Scotland, of the bronze figures of men and animals, which have caused so much discussion on the Continent, and which Mr. Wilson (p. 556) seems inclined to attribute to Indian rather than to Scandinavian art. It seems, however, to militate against such an idea, that they are now very frequently met with in the north, and have been found, mutilated, in urns, under barrows of undoubted earliest formation, and are never met with in India. Both this and another, engraved in the *Mem. de la Soc. Roy. des Antiquaires de France*, tome iii, p. 199, as also one lately added to the medieval department of the British museum, from a French collection, tend but to confirm an opinion I more particularly enlarged upon in a paper read before the British Archæological Association at their Manchester Congress in 1850; that they were æolophiles, whose first use, at least, was for the purposes of priestcraft, to terrify and humble the votaries of Thor and Zernibog into submission and servility, by representing the anger of the Deity through present thunder and visible clouds of smoke and vapour.



The *chess-piece* (fig. 1; on the following page) is remark-

able as a proof of the antiquity and great prevalence of the game in northern Europe. Mr. Wilson (p. 576) alludes to the figures of chessmen, in Thomasius "Leitfaden zur Nordischen Alterthumskunde", in the translation of lord Ellesmere, and to a report by the Society of Northern Antiquaries. The latter two I have not seen; but in the German original is the exact copy of the one here engraved, which is, and I have no doubt correctly, taken for our knight, as of old their "ritter", but now known only as "*der springer*", or jumper. In the German, and possibly in lord Ellesmere's translation, the figure of our queen (the Oriental "vizier") is given on horseback, on which, to every appearance on the drawing, her majesty rides sideways. The usual date of this introduction, by the Bohemian spouse of Richard II, would of course be disproved by this discovery.

The second consideration is afforded by the annexed wood-cut (fig. 2) of the Dunnichen Stone, in Angusshire, of

Fig. 1.

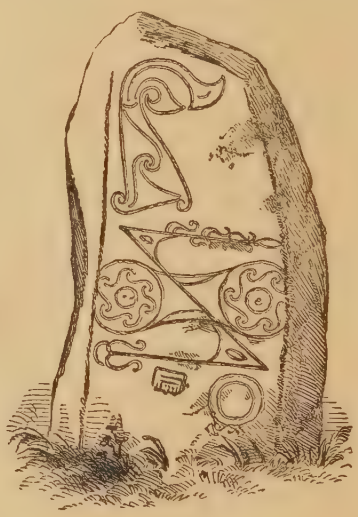


Fig. 2.

a type which, to judge from the antiquities of the same county, by Mr. Patrick Chalmers, seems very prevalent in that neighbourhood, and must consequently be significant. The principal object, as formed by two circular ornamented orbs, joined by a cross piece, bears a considerable resemblance to a curious class of instruments found in the tumuli

of northern Germany, and of which many remarkable specimens are preserved in the "Museum für Vaterländischen Antiquitäten", and other collections in Berlin. One of them is figured at pl. II, fig. 2, 328, in lieutenant-major and director von Ledebur's *Description*. It consists of two circular bronze wires, turned round a common centre, which are raised to suit both prominences of the human breast, and connected by a continuity of the same bronze rod bent into a link. Similar ones are found at Schwerin and in other collections: but its use seems unknown, as Ledebur (p. 19) hints at the supposition of their having been considered receptacles for burning incense; and he himself seems to favour the opinion that they were ornaments for the arm, for which, however, an ocular inspection sufficed to convince me they were very ill-suited. When we know that the breast-plate, the "iodhan morain" vide *Archæologia*, vol. vii, p. 166, and *Etruria Celtica*, by sir W. Betham, vol. ii, p. 149, pl. II, No. 3) was the grand insignia and principal ornament of the Brehon judges of Ireland, we may readily suppose that an inferior order, or a country less rich in precious metals, would supply the place of the golden ones of Erin by bronze. These would at once furnish a fibula to the robe, and, by their prominent situation, afford a constant and unmistakeable mark of the dignity of the wearer. In the Jewish countries on the Continent, I invariably found the title of Cohen, or priest, accompanied by the Levitical jug of ablution, as an emblem of their office or name; and this, I conclude, may have been the reason why we view this emblem so frequently on the Scotch monumental stones, beneath which lay a pontiff, who, like Melchisedech of old, or the modern Dalai-Lahma, was also at the same time a prince. The other ornaments on the stone would only confirm me in this opinion. The "Z" ornament has been found single, and in bronze, in an urn dug from a tumulus at Kobbelwith, in Silesia, near the town of Oels, with a spear and other masculine utensils; whilst an accompanying urn had a bronze crescent, coupled with feminine moveables; the first of which, Kruse, who describes them in his *Budorgis*, very justly ascribed to the god *Zabotus*, to whom the *Zobten Berg*, an isolated cone of granite, and great height, in the neighbourhood, was dedicated, and, no doubt identical with the

Mons Zabacus of Horace, and of the same origin with the Greek Ζευς, which, as the Latin Deus, would give the Deity an ethnographical and universal acceptation that could not exclude Scotland in its circuit. The other emblems would require an elucidation beyond the limits of the present paper.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. II.

A certaine Confession of the Earle of Kent.

MS. COTTON JULIUS, C. II, f. 302.

This confession was made before Robert Houell, coronner of the kinges howse, and afterwarde before the elders and nobles of that countrey, at Wynchester, the 16 of Marche a° 4. That is, that Edmunde earle of Kent did acknowlegde that the apostolicall had commaunded hym, under payne of his curse, that he shuld apply his forces and diligence to delyver his brother E. sometyme kynge of England, and that he for this cause wolde beare the charges. And he said that a fryer preacher Covent (*sic*) London, came to hym at Kenssington nere London, and tolde hym that he had raysed up a devell, which to hym for certayne affirmed, that E. his brother, sometyme kynge of England, was lyvynge. And he said that the archebyshop of Yorke to hym had sent by a certayne chapleyne, maister Aeyn, a letter of fidelitie, and the fidelitie was suche, that he to hym had sent for delyvery of his brother a fyve thowsand men and moe, as many as he had, and as many as he could make. And he said that[1]..... Ingeram Berenger saied to hym at London from..... Wyllyam de Souche, that he shuld endevour what he coulde for delyvery of his brother. And he said, that Wyllyam de Clif came to hym in the same

[1] These blanks in the manuscript seem to have been caused by the omission of the title "*Sire*", Monsire, or it may be the Latin *Dominus*.

message by suche instructions that he shuld suffer a composition to be made between Wolkingum and Hildefordum, and to hym he said that he wolde assaulte Hildeforde citie, for because his neece, by his brother, of the familie of Spenser,[1] which was in the same citie of Hildeforde, and Wyllyam his self had talked wyth hym aboute an affinitie between Richard the sonne of the earle of Arundell and his daughter. And he said further, that this wolde be to hym the greatest honor that ever could happen to hym; and that his self wolde bende his strengthe to hym what he mighte, to do this thynge. And he said that Mr. Wyllyam de Werham, his bretherns clerke, and brother Thomas de Bromefeld, shuld be they that shulde do hym pleasure, and be allured to do thes forsaide matters. And he said that ..... Robertus de Taunton had in commaundement from the archebysshop of Yorke thes forsaid matters. And he said he had redye sixe thousand men to accomplyshe his foresaide busynes; and that the same Robert and ij brethern preachers which be wythout the order, wherof the one causeth hymselfe to be called Edmonde Savage, and the other John, were mediators and factors of this busynes. And he said that ..... Fouk sonne[2] Waryn came to the byshop at Westmonaster, and prayed hym and exhorted hym to begynn this matter, and to do hit; and saied unto hym that this wolde be the greatest honor that ever had happened to hym, and tolde hym that he wold helpe hym what he mighte. And he said that ..... Ingram Berenger came to hym from John Pecche, which was of his counsell, and he wolde herto putt his endevour what he mighte. And he said that ..... Henry Beamond and Thomas Rosielyn talked to hym at Paris, in the chamber of the duke of Brabant, that they were redye to come into England in helpe of the foresaide parties, and that they had prycked them forwarde to accomplyshe thes matters. And that they wold arryve towarde the partes of Scotland by the abbot of Donald de Mar,[3]

[1] If this allude to his (the earl of Kent's) niece, the only one he had "of the family of Spenser" was Elinor de Clare (daughter of his *half sister* Joan of Acres), who married lord Hugh Despencer the younger, son of Hugh earl of Winchester.

[2] Fulk Fitzwarren. This manuscript is evidently a translation from a French or Latin original.

[3] Either the name of the abbey is here omitted, or we should read the abbot Donald, of Mar.

that he shuld be redye for their aide to take their partes what he might; but the tyme of their commyng was put over. And he said that ..... Rycharde de Pounfreyt, confessor to ..... came to hym to Kensington against the coronation, and afterwarde at Arundell, from the archebyshopp of Yorke, for theis foresaide thynges; and he said that a monke of Quarrer,[1] and John Cunnynges his cosyn, had lykewyse a bote redy to brynge his brother and hym from his castell of Arundell. And he said he had made open thes foresaid matters to E. de Mouurtimer and George Percy. And he said that the letters which he sent to ..... Buges de Baiouse[2] and to John Cawille were confirmed by his owne seale, and that one letter was wrytten by the hande of his wyfe; and he said ..... Ingeram Berenger came to hym from Arundell, into his chamber over the chapple, and saide that the byshop of London wold succour hym towardes the delyverye of his brother, what he might. And he acknoweleged thes matters to be trew, and so confesseth hymself not to be voyde of faulte, and therefore putteth hym self in the mercye, et cetera.

This confession has reference to the trial and execution, at Winchester, of Edmond Woodstock, earl of Kent, brother of Edward II. "The earl of Kent," says a recent historian, "was now made to pay an awful price for his levity in joining and then deserting Lancaster." He was surrounded by the artful agents of Mortimer and the queen, and led to believe a story which was then widely circulated, that his brother Edward II, in whose deposition he had taken so active a part, was not dead, but living a captive in Corfe Castle....Some monks urged the earl of Kent to release his brother, and restore him to his throne, assuring him that several bishops and nobles, whose messengers they were, or pretended to be, would aid him in this meritorious enterprise. The earl even received letters from the pope exhorting him to pursue the same course. These letters appear to have been forgeries; but they imposed

[1] A Cistercian abbey in the Isle of Wight.

[2] A "Sire Robert de Bayouse" occurs in the Roll of Arms, *temp.* Edward II (Cotton. Calig. t. xviii); and a "Monsire de Bayous", whose arms are very dissimilar, in a roll of Edward III's time, in the College of Arms.

upon the credulous earl, who even went the length of writing to his dead brother, which letters were delivered to sir John Maltravers, one of the suspected assassins of the late king. These strange epistles were put into the hands of Isabella and Mortimer, who, considering them proof sufficient of treasonable practices, immediately summoned a parliament to try the traitor. On the 16th of March "he was convicted of high treason for having designed to to raise a dead man to the throne, at least nothing else was proved, or attempted to be proved, against him; and thus this trial" (says the writer whose account we have followed, "is entitled to a place among the curiosities of jurisprudence". He was beheaded March 19th 1329. All his accomplices were liberated, except Robert de Taunton and the friar who told the earl that he had raised a spirit in order to be more fully assured of the king's being alive. This latter confederate was kept in prison till he died.

Contributions towards a History of the Society of Antiquaries.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Great as is the interest now taken in the pursuit of archæological researches, a little inquiry will speedily satisfy us that scarcely less was entertained at a much earlier time; for we find that bodies of gentlemen have, in London and in different parts of the country, at various times been congregated together for the study of every subject in connexion with history and antiquity. Not to mention that Society of Antiquaries,[1] which, in 1572, received the patronage and enjoyed the presidency of archbishop Parker, aided by the zealous exertions of sir Robert Cotton; which society, after the death of the archbishop, selected no less a person than archbishop Whitgift, in 1583, as its head, and the meetings of which continued to be held during thirty years,—I need only refer to the weekly meetings of

[1] See introductory paper, read at the second congress of the British Archæological Association, held at Winchester, August 1845, and printed in the Winchester volume of Transactions, p. 6, *et seq.*

the present Society of Antiquaries,[1] which were held, commencing Nov. 5, 1707, under the presidency of Mr. Peter le Neve, Norroy king-at-arms, first at the Bear Tavern in the Strand; then, Feb. 1707-8, at the Young Devil Tavern in Fleet-street; afterwards, in 1709, at the Fountain Tavern, over against Chancery-lane; in 1718, at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet-street; subsequently, in 1726, in apartments in Gray's Inn; then in the Temple, and afterwards again at the Mitre Tavern, where, as appears from a letter from sir John Evelyn, bart., addressed to Maurice Johnson, esq., of Spalding, the draft for the patent of the corporation was resolved upon in May 1750; which act of incorporation was obtained on the 2nd of November 1751, making the society, this year, to complete a century of their incorporated existence.

From a letter by Dr. Ward, professor at Gresham College, and director of the Society of Antiquaries, to Maurice Johnson, esq., it will be seen that the obtaining of the charter occasioned an immediate increase in the number of members;[2] and that they were compelled, by want of room, in 1753, to remove from the Mitre Tavern to a house in Chancery-lane, where the meetings were continued to be held, until, by the munificence of his Majesty George III, in 1780, the society was accommodated with the apartments in which they are now assembled.

In the year 1710, a "society of gentlemen for the supporting mutual benevolence, and their improvement in the liberal sciences and polite learning", was formed at Spalding in Lincolnshire, principally by the efforts of Maurice Johnson, esq., of the Inner Temple, and steward of the manor of Spalding, intended to communicate with the Society of Antiquaries of London; and, from the account given in the third volume of the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, repeated, with some additions, in vol. vi of Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, it appears that an uninterrupted correspondence was maintained between the two bodies for upwards of forty years; Mr. George Vertue, the engraver, making to the Society of Gentlemen of Spalding the last

[1] Ibid. page 7.

[2] I find that in 1752, thirty-four fellows were admitted, whereas in 1750, three only had joined; in 1751, nine, and the same number in 1753, the year after the act of incorporation was obtained.

communication of the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries in February 1753.

During thirty-five years, Maurice Johnson, esq., the founder of the society, acted as secretary with great zeal and activity; and the minutes of the proceedings, in his neat and legible handwriting, are fairly transcribed into six folio volumes, which are still at the society's rooms. Five of these volumes are completely filled, but the sixth extends only over forty-one pages, the memoranda being very slight after the decease of Mr. Johnson, at the beginning of the year 1755. They contain the minutes of similar societies, the duration of which was not equal to that of Spalding, established at Peterborough and Stamford; the former having Dr. Neve for its secretary; the latter, Dr. Stukeley, who was first introduced to the Society of Antiquaries of London by Mr. Maurice Johnson.

Having lately been called professionally to Spalding, and having a few hours leisure previous to my return to London, I made inquiries as to whether any traces of the Spalding Gentleman's Society existed, and was fortunate enough to meet with two gentlemen who looked upon themselves as members; and by the kindness of my friend Dr. Thomas Cammack, of Spalding, I was introduced to the room in which the books, manuscripts, and antiquities belonging to the society, are to be found. These are deposited in a small apartment over a butcher's shop, in which they have remained since the year 1755. There is an entry in the minute book, October 16th, 1755: "The society made its first appearance in Mr. Cox's new room". Mr. Cox, a surgeon in Spalding, was for many years a very active member, and paid particular attention to the museum, furnishing it with a hortus siccus and pharmacopœial specimens. He was styled "operator"; and numerous entries are made of matters presented and papers read by "Mr. Operator Cox". At his death, he left the present room to the society, so long as they should continue to use it, and pay an annual rent of five pounds. No regular meetings are holden, and there appears to be no likelihood of any active exertions being made to resuscitate the society. It is indeed some time now since a meeting was held; but one will very shortly be called, to elect a treasurer, in the place of George Bugg, esq., lately deceased.

Weekly meetings of the society were continued till about 1820; afterwards, a notice was entered that the society should meet monthly. I understand that the rev. Dr. Moore, president of the society, some time since drew up an account of the society for the congress of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held at Lincoln in 1848.[1]

During my short stay, I examined, as far as time would permit me, the contents of the room. The books consist of about three hundred volumes, but are of no rarity. These are exclusive of a library at the vestry, containing editions of many of the fathers, and some valuable classics at the Grammar School, deposited there by the society. The manuscripts are few, and not of any importance. Four folio volumes contain the drawings and engravings, but they are nearly empty; and the antiquities consist principally of impressions of seals, some brass coins (part of which are Roman), some articles at different times found either in the bed of the river or in digging in different parts of the town, and other things of little value.

There is, however, an interesting portrait of the celebrated Dr. Richard Bentley, who was at one time, though but for a short period, master of the Grammar School at Spalding, and which portrait was presented to the society by William Graves, esq., of Fulborn, near Cambridge. And there is also one, said to be of sir Isaac Newton, who was a member of the Spalding society, which appears to be a copy painted and presented by Dr. Green, for many years secretary—who practised at Spalding as a physician, after studying under Boerhaave at Leyden, and who married a daughter of Mr. Johnson's. Indeed, next to Mr. Johnson, he and Mr. Cox appear to have been the great supporters of the society. He drew well, and evidently was possessed of considerable acquirements. His great grandson, Charles Green, esq., is now a solicitor in Spalding.

The Spalding society originated by the assembling of a few gentlemen in the town of Spalding, at a coffee-house,

[1] Since this was written, the Lincoln volume of the Institute has been published, and therein are inserted some notices of the researches and labours of the earliest Lincolnshire antiquaries, together with an engraved portrait of Maurice Johnson, F.S.A.

and who there passed the time principally in literary conversation: political subjects being expressly excluded. In the list of names which have composed the society, several occur of great eminence in the arts, science, and literature. Each member present paid one shilling for "defraying the expenses of the room, garden, coffee, tea, chocolate, wine, cyder, ale, coals, candles, pipes and tobacco, snuff, and attendance". Regular members also paid one shilling monthly, and each upon his election was expected to present a book to the society. Those of the regular members who were absent, were fined sixpence for non-attendance. The meetings usually commenced by the reading of papers in the *Tatler*, or the *Spectator*, the *Englishman*, the *Guardian*, the *Rambler*, etc.; and the sitting continued from four o'clock until ten.

Meeting at my visit with two bundles of letters and papers, I was induced to cast my eye over them: they are principally from Dr. Stukeley, Roger Gale, Lewis Bogdani, Beaupré Bell, Dr. Mortimer, Dr. Rutherforth, Timothy Le Neve, Dr. Ward, rev. Dr. Birch, Dr. Browne Willis, Alexander Gordon, William Bowyer, George Vertue, and other well-known antiquaries. Five of these letters, bearing reference to the Society of Antiquaries, and also to the establishment of an Egyptian Society, I thought worthy of transcription.

The first of these letters is from Dr. Stukeley, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries from 1717 to 1736, addressed to Maurice Johnson, esq., the founder of the Spalding Society, and one of the members of the Society of Antiquaries upon its revival in 1717, and the senior fellow appearing in the list under the charter. The letter runs thus:—

Dear Sir,—I received yours, and the society return their thanks as well for your informations about Ely Minster, etc., as that you are so mindful as to drink our healths on your club nights, which Mr. Gale says is a cell to the Miter. We have finished the plate of St. James's font to general approbation; and another of an old horn, given by Ulphus, prince of Deira, to the church at York. Mr. Vertue has now got a fine drawing of king Richard II. We subscribe 7*s.* 6*d.* a piece towards it. We have thoughts of taking a room in the Temple, and laying up liquor in it as you doe. We have bought towards furniture a good picture of Edward III, and shall have several other pictures, etc., presented to us.

I hope to see you in town soon; till when, with my service to all friends, I remain, your friend and most humble servant,

Ormond-street, 19 Ju. 1718. Wm. Stukeley.

All the world here are in great expectations of the event of affairs in Italy and Hungary, though the prints say the Spaniards are landed in Milan, yet wagers are laid that a peace between the emperor and sultan will be made first. Mr. Dutchman must be forced into our four-corded alliance. Jemmy Garnon, a surgeon of Boston, and I, drank your healths at dinner t'other day, with your uncle Green. Pray, with my service to your father, tell him I desire he would not fail to bring up all my bonds and papers relating to my aunt Stukeley this term, for I shall want them very much. Yours, W. S.

Now the Southwark pudding wonder is over, the city is all in an uproar about the election of a chamberlain, like a country corporation for burgesses, where roast pigg and beef and wine is dealt about freely at taverns, and advertisements about it more voluminous than the late celebrated Bangorian notifications, though not in a calm und undisturbed way.

The reference in the preceding letter to the Spalding Society, as a "cell to the Miter", is in relation to the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, which at this time were held at the Mitre Tavern.

The St. James's font; the horn of Ulphus; and the drawing of Richard II, alluded to, are:

The font at St. James's church, Westminster, sculptured by Grinling Gibbons; the horn of Ulphus, preserved in York minster; and the portrait of Richard II, an ancient picture formerly in the choir of Westminster abbey, and now preserved in the Jerusalem chamber, all of which are engraved, and to be found in the first volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*. The picture of Edward III mentioned, should have been stated to be that of Edward IV, now suspended in the meeting room of the Society of Antiquaries. The Southwark pudding wonder, alluded to in the postscript of the letter, refers to a proposal made by a man of the name of Austin, who, I learn from a note attached to an account of tradesmen's tokens of the Bore's Head Taverne, in Great East Cheap, in Mr. Akerman's excellent collection published in 1849 (page 95), was the inventor of a Persian ink powder; and who, in an extravagant fit of gratitude to his customers, or perhaps a desire to increase his notoriety, announced that he had

selected the Boar's Head Tavern, in Eastcheap, for their reception, where he would have prepared for them a pudding, weighing nine hundred pounds, and a cake of similar weight, to be served to the music of a huge drum, once used in the Turkish army, and eighteen feet in length! The copper for boiling the pudding was erected at the Red Lion, in Southwark Park, where crowds of people went to see it. It was intended to be conveyed to the Swan Tavern, Fish-street Hill, to the tune of "What lumps of plum pudding my mother gave me". It is probable, as Mr. Akerman has suggested, that these shiftings of the scene of action, shew that the landlords dreaded an irruption of the mob, for it was finally resolved to dispense the huge pudding in St. George's Fields, but the escort was attacked by the populace on its way thither, and the Brobdignagian confection demolished in a twinkling!

The second letter is from the right honourable sir John Evelyn, bart., V. P. Antiq. Soc., one of the lords commissioners of the customs, to the president of the Spalding Gentleman's Society, on the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, towards obtaining a charter of incorporation.

St. James's Place, May 15th, 1750.

Sir,—Being in the countrey when I received the favour of your letter and some time after, I had not an opportunity of communicating it to our society before Thursday last, when I was desired to return you their thanks for your particular account and explanation of the intaglio or onyx seal the letter is sealed with. I wish I could as well explain the meaning of the broad arrow made use of by the officers of the customs to mark their seisures, which I'm informed is of long standing, but can't learn the reason of it.

Our society at the last meeting, consisting of above thirty members, appointed a committee to make a draft of a patent to incorporate us, which was resolved upon the Thursday before, and which our president has promised to use his interest to obtain, if the expense does not discourage us, which is likewise recommended to the consideration of the committee. I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

J. Evelyn.

The president at this time was Martin Folkes, esq., who held the office from 1750 till the time of his death, June 28th, 1754. He was also president of the Royal Society, having been elected thereto in 1745.

The third letter is from Dr. Stukeley, to Maurice Johnson, esq.

Dear Sir,—I was glad to receive yours, and to find you was well, for my landlord and your Sovereign Gideon walking together, he told me you was ill of a cold. I thank you for your kind invitation; if I come, it will most probably be *solus;* as for wives and daughters, their business is at home; for I have no caravan for female pilgrims, and I myself can propose only to stay one evening with you, and lodge at an inn (as usual). I don't travel now for pleasure, but business: home is most agreeable at our time of life.

I grieve very much for the loss of Boston, owing to great stupidity, in letting the water of Lincoln river run by a cutt below the bridge, instead of coming through the town.

Dr. Perry I was well acquainted withal; those four winters I lived in Gloucester-street (1740, 41, 42, 43), then it was we founded the Egyptian Society, lord Sandwich, president; it subsisted whilst I was in London, then it dropped. I have the memoirs of it, as taken by myself; and there it was that the duke of Montagu took me so much into his favour, as paved the way for my being now in town for the rest of my life; nor have I ever repented it; though I grieved exceedingly for the loss of the duke, even as much as Horace did for that of his Mecænas; and I equally lost my Mecænas, for I frequent no levees, nor trouble myself with any ambitious views, but enjoy a vast deal of solitude; not running, as the rest of the world does here, from one public company to another, from morning to evening, just as our folks do, running from the Royal Society to the Antiquaries the same evening; instead of that, I retreat every night at six a clock to my contemplative pipe; and that is more enjoyment to me than the company of the preceding day.

When I came first to my house in Gloucester-street, Mr. Wm. Torkington, who was one of the gentlemen pensioners, came to visit me. His ancestor marryed the heiress of our family, of Great Stukeley. He offered to introduce me to lord Sandwich, then lately come home from his Egyptian travels. My lord put on the habit of the Arabs inhabiting those oriental countrys, the same as their founder, Ismael's. 'Tis called *camissa*, a black short gown, with open sleeves, loose; a slit on the breast, for convenient putting on; reaching down only to the knees, the body and legs otherwise naked. Many rings of pewter put upon the neck, small of the legs, wrists, carrings, noserings. The antient Arabians had these ornaments from Britain; for the first heroes that undertook voyages went in quest of metals, and our Cornish tyn mines were found out very early, for this reason,—by the first adventurers, under the conduct of the Tyrian Hercules, the planter of our island. Tyn is mentioned by Moses and by Job.

The 11th of December 1741, I met lord Sandwich at Lebeck's Head, Chandois-street, when his lordship, Dr. Pocock, Dr. Perry, and capt. Norden, the Dane, declared the purport of that assembly was to form themselves into an Egyptian Society, for the promoting and preserving Egyptian and other antient learning; they all having been in Egypt. At the same time, they nominated Mr. Folks, Dr. Stukeley, Dr. Milles, Mr. Chas. Stanhope, Mr. Dampier, and Mr. Mitchell, associates of the same; who, together with them, were styled founders of the society.

22 January 1741-2, the duke of Montagu [and duke of] Richmond were admitted of the society. The duke of Montagu asked me the meaning of that Egyptian rattle (as his grace called it) lying before us. I answered, it was not without reason that he called it so; for the *sistrum*, so famous in antiquity, was really so, though not properly understood in authors. In the antient world (continued I), when the sacrifices were laid on the altar, they waited with impatience for the descent of the celestial fire, in token of the divine acceptance. In the meantime, in hot countrys, they were obliged to hold a *sistrum* in their hands to drive off the birds and beasts of prey. Thus did Abraham in his famous federal sacrifice with God Almighty (Genesis xv, 11). The Egyptians, therefore, could not fail taking this instrument into the principal of their sacred utensils. The rattling it was equivalent to crying out "*procul este profani!*"

The society approved of this solution, and soon after I drew an account of it up at large, and presented it to the duke of Montagu, from which time his grace was pleased to take me into his particular favor and friendship; and though the society dropped after I left the town, in the summer of 1743, yet the duke ordered me to come to Broughton that summer, and constantly ever after invited me, by letter under his own hand, to meet him there; and his kindness toward me increased every year extremely.

Thus, dear sir, I have answered your demand, and given a short account of the famous Egyptian society, which flourished extremely for the three first years. As to its dissolution, I suppose, when ambition seizes the minds of mortal men, literature flies of course. I have very large memories about it. Sawny Gordon, before that time, went secretary to the governor of Carolina.

London is the only place where we can enjoy one another; therefore I still live in the hope of seeing you here.

I am, dear sir, your faithful servant,

S. Geo. 16 *Jun.* 1750. W. Stukeley.

The Sovereign Gideon mentioned in this letter, was sir Sampson Gideon, the father of lord Eardley, who came into possession of the manor of Spalding, with considerable

estates in the neighbourhood, from the then duke of Buccleugh, in 1749.

The loss of Boston referred to, I believe, relates to a great depression of its commercial prosperity, and an almost entire loss of its trade, occasioned by an impediment to the navigation of the Witham, which was choked up with silt. Only vessels requiring but a small draught of water could reach the place; indeed, flat vessels and barges were alone able to be brought to the quays at high spring-tides. This was subsequently remedied by cutting a new channel from the town to Dogdyke, an extent of twelve miles.

The *sistrum* of the ancient Egyptians, although to be regarded as belonging to sacred purposes and ceremonies, is yet not to be looked upon as a mere rattle to frighten away birds and beasts. It was a musical instrument, and used as such in various processions, and in the celebrating of various fêtes, particularly that of Diana, or Pasht, at Bubastis. Plutarch and others have mentioned the sistrum as having been intended to frighten away Typhon, or the evil spirit; and in describing the instrument, mentions that a cat with a human visage is depicted upon it. Ovid, in the fifth book of the *Metamorphoses*, reports the Egyptian Diana to have assumed the form of a cat to avoid the enmity of Typhon. The cat, the representative of Pasht, was sacred to Bubastis, where the festival of the Egyptian Diana was held. Herodotus describes this annual fête in a very particular manner, and states it to have been the principal one among the Egyptians (ii, 59, 60). Bronze figures of Pasht are to seen, with a sistrum in her right hand. The sistrum has sometimes three, and occasionally four, movable bars, upon which rings are placed, making a rattling noise upon them when the instrument is shaken. It varies in its size, being from eight to eighteen inches in length, and composed entirely of bronze. In the British Museum there is a specimen, the finest I have seen, which was bought at the sale of Mr. Burton's Egyptian antiquities. It is from Thebes, and evidently of great antiquity, sixteen inches and a half in height, with holes for the admission of three bars, which are unfortunately wanting. The goddess Pasht, or Bubastis, together with the sacred vulture and other representative emblems, are figured upon the upper part of the instrument, and beneath there is the

figure of a female holding a sistrum in each hand. The cylindrical handle at its upper part presents the double face of Athor, with an asp-formed crown, upon the summit of which there has been a cat, though traces only of the feet of the animal now remain; but sir Gardner Wilkinson has described a sistrum preserved in the Berlin Museum, on the upper and circular part of which lies a cat crowned with the disc, or sun, and there are in the British Museum sistra of a later time, in silver and in bronze, which are peculiar for having cats with kittens at the top. There is also a bronze cat, two inches long, taken from a sistrum.

The fourth letter is from the rev. Thos. Birch, D.D., secretary of the Royal Society, and director of the Society of Antiquaries from 1742 to 1746, also addressed to Maurice Johnson, esq.

London, March 31, 1753.

Dear Sir,—Your agreeable letter was not only a new obligation to myself, but likewise to the Royal Society, to whom I read that part of it relating to the remarkable foundation at Yarm, and who directed me to return you their thanks for that communication, which will, I doubt not, find a place in the xlviii volume of the *Philos. Transactions* now preparing for the press. The xlvii, for the years 1751 and 1752, is actually printed off; and notice was given by the president on Thursday last, that it will be ready to be delivered to the members on Thursday the 5th of May. You may depend upon my care of transmitting to you, as soon after that day as possible, that volume for our brethren at Spalding. You will find in it the account of the water-spout in Deeping Fen, with which you favoured me last year.

Among the papers read before the society since the beginning of January last, are a Dissertation of Mr. Geo. Costard, of Wadham College, concerning the year of an eclipse said to be foretold by Thales; an Account of a Woman at Paris, whose bones were gradually distorted and softened, which occasioned her death; a Dissertation of Professor Ward on a Roman Altar and Inscription found at York in April 1752; an Account, by Dr. Pringle, of several persons seized with the Jail Fever by working at y^{e} setting up Dr. Hales' Ventilators in Newgate; a Letter to me from the Rev. Mr. Borlase, of Ludguan in Cornwall, concerning the great Alterations in the Sylley Islands; Mr. Watson's Account of the Process of Mr. Appleby for Sweetening of Salt Water; a Letter of Camillo Paderni, keeper of his Neapolitan Majesty's antiquities dug out of the antient Herculaneum, concerning the late discoveries there, particularly of many volumes in *papyro*, as he calls it, but very brittle,—the leaves not being to be separated without destroying them, though containing several con-

siderable fragments, of which he has sent a specimen of a few words; a Description of a Storm in Cornwall on the 20th of December last, by Mr. Borlase; Observations of the Abbé Muzeus, of Paris, upon the Art of Preserving Paintings by taking the colours off the old canvas, etc., and putting them upon new; a Letter of Mr. Dollond's on the Improvement of Telescopes; a Letter of Mr. David Warke to Professor Bradley, concerning the Cause of the different Refrangibility of the Rays of Light; Remarks by Mr. John Ellis on the Nature and Production of some Coralline Substances; and Observations of Mr. Cooke, of the Isle of Wight, on the casting off and renewing the Shells of Crabs.

The society has just printed, in 8vo., for the use of the members, their several charters and statutes, of which there had been hitherto only a clandestine and very incorrect edition about the year 1728. A number of copies of this new edition are likewise printed in 4to., and will be publicly sold by our bookseller.

Our brethren at the Mitre[1] are almost ready to remove from thence to the house which they have taken in Chancery-lane, and which was lately Robins's Coffee House, at the entrance of the Rolls. The conveniences of their new situation will enable them to apply with new vigour to the promotion of those studies which are the object of their establishment, of which, I hope, the public will likewise soon receive the benefit.

With my compliments to all the gentlemen of the society, I am, dear sir, your most obliged and most obedient humble servant,

THO. BIRCH.

The fifth letter is from Dr. John Ward, professor of rhetoric in Gresham College, and director of the Society of Antiquaries from 1747 to the time of his decease, Oct. 17, 1758, to M. Johnson, esq.:—

WORTHY SIR,—It was no small pleasure to me to find, by your late obliging letter, the continuance of your regard for the interest of our antiquary society; and I would hope that the affair of the late Sir Hans Sloane, which is yet depending, may be a happy means of engaging the attention of persons in power to matters of literature more than has been observed of late years. And the scheme you propose with regard to our antiquary society, would doubtless be of service to the public could it be effected. But as yet I do not perceive it practicable; for all the places hitherto proposed for building the intended *museum*, are so situated as to render them very inconvenient for the meetings of the society. And therefore, as the increase of their number since the charter has obliged them to remove for want of room, they have taken a short lease, for about four years, of a house in *Chancery-lane*, where two or three of their last meetings have been held.

[1] The Society of Antiquaries.

The society is very sensible of the good offices of the gentlemen of Spalding, and would be ready, upon all proper occasions, to convince them of it. And such is the relation which I have the honour to stand in to that learned body, as obliges me not only to contribute every thing in my power for promoting the success of their laudable pursuits, but likewise to prevent any thing which may be thought contrary thereto. For which reason, as you are pleased to acquaint me that some of those gentlemen have already communicated to their society their remarks upon the Greek inscription in the gardens at *Wreast*, and others are preparing to do the like, I could not but think it incumbent upon me to acquaint you that I am well assured the inscription now mentioned was lately drawn up by two or three gentlemen of wit and learning for the amusement of themselves and friends. This information I judged the more necessary, as I doubt not but it may save those worthy members of the society a useless trouble, and occasion their employing the same time and application in something which may be of real service to the public. I write this from a friend's house in the country, where I purpose to stay till the term, and therefore shall conclude at present with desiring you will please to make my compliments to all my worthy brethren of the society, and subscribing myself, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

April 26, 1753. JOHN WARD.

To Maurice Johnson, Esq.,
At Spalding in Lincolnshire.

Endorsed,—"A letter from Dr. Ward of Gresham Coll., London, director of the Antiq^{n} Soc., and fellow of R. S. there, and of S. G. S., to the president of S. G. S., in answer to his proposal for the A. S. being accommodated with the Cotton and W. librs."

In the preceding letter it will be remarked that the writer refers to the affair of the late sir Hans Sloane, who died on the 11th Jan. 1753, this letter being written on the 26th of April following. His collections we know formed the nucleus of the British Museum; and Dr. Ward evidently alludes to some suggestion made by Mr. Johnson in regard to the holding the meetings of the society either within or in proximity to a museum or collection of antiquities and library of records and other manuscripts. What was then a desideratum,—namely, a collection of our national antiquities,—remains one even at this day. I trust, however, that the promises which have of late been made in regard to a collection of this kind at the British Museum, will be speedily carried into effect. Much has undoubtedly been lost by delay of such an arrangement.

The minutes of the Spalding Gentleman's Society contain many particulars relating to the Society of Antiquaries of much interest. Among these, under the date of June 24th, 1731, is a copy of "an account of the project formed by the Society of Antiquaries for establishing that society and a library", transcribed by Maurice Johnson, jun., of the Inner Temple, from a manuscript in the Cotton library (Faustina, E. 5), "examined with Mr. David Casley, S.G.S.S., deputy library keeper to the rev. Dr. Richard Bentley, S.G.S.S., keeper of the Cottonian library, Westminster, and William Stukeley, M.D., when he and I (*i. e.*, Mr. Johnson) drew up the plan and articles for founding the Society of Antiquaries in London." The project mentioned has been printed in Hearne's *Historical Discourses*, and differs very little from that taken by Mr. Johnson. It is in the form of a petition to queen Elizabeth. Following this is a paper entitled, "some account of the restoration of the Society of Antiquarys now held in London", which reads thus:—

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE RESTORAC'ON OF THE SOC. OF ANTIQUARYS NOW HELD IN LONDON.

This is a copy of the original plan, and proposals upon it were made for reestablishing the Academy of Antiquaries and Historians, drawn up by Dr. Wm. Stukeley and myself, and approved by some few other gentlemen, from that formerly proposed to queen Elizabeth, by sir Robt. Cotton, y^e^ E. of Malborough (Ley), and Mr. justice Dodderidge.

The Society of Antiquaries, London 1718.—The study of antiquitys has ever been esteemed by those who have had any relish for good literature,—a considerable part of it no less curious than useful; and if what will assist us in a clearer understanding the invaluable writings of the ancient and learned nations, or the preserving the venerable remains of our ancestors, be of account, the forming a society to carry on so good a work by their joint endeavors, cannot but be esteemed laudable, and highly conducive to that purpose. And whereas our own country, without vanity, may be said to abound with many veritable and valuable relics of former ages, now in the custody of private gentlemen, or lying in obscurity, and more are daily discovered by chance and the diligence of such as tread in the footsteps of those who revived the spirit of this kind of learning amongst us in the last century, to the end the knowledge of them may become more universal, be preserved, and transmitted to futurity, several gentlemen have resolved to form themselves into such a society here in London, with a design, at their own charge, to collect and

print all accounts of ancient monuments that come to their hands, whether ecclesiastic or civil, which may be communicated to them from all parts of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland: such as citys, stations, camps, public buildings, roads, churches, temples, abbys, statutes, tombs, busts, inscriptions, castles, ruins, altars, ornaments, utensils, habits, seals, armour, portraits, medals, urns, pavements, maps, charts, manuscripts, genealogys, historyans, observations, illustrations, emendations, comments upon books already published, and whatever may properly belong to the history of British antiquities. The better to accomplish which undertaking, and to encourage the ingenious and curious to communicate such matters to them from time to time, they have agreed upon the following articles as their common establishment, viz.: Article 1st,—That any person whose genius leads to the study of antiquitys, or is willing to promote such a design, may, at their request, and at the consent of the majority of the society, be admitted a member of it, which is to be held every Wednesday evening at such place in London as shall be thought convenient; whereat every one shall bear his own expense, and endeavour to promote the interests and honor of the society, desiring their correspondents to transmit accounts of such things as properly fall under the inquiry of a society of antiquaries. And that no member be under any penalty, forfeiture, or restraint, but may withdraw themselves at pleasure upon notice given by the society.

II. That every member shall contribute one shilling, on the first Wednesday each month, toward carrying on the works of the society, for which he shall receive once a year, or oftener, as it shall happen, such a number of prints and books to be published, as shall be equivalent to their yearly expence, the profit by sale of the remainder going towards further works; and that one of the best artists be employed to draw and engrave, and a printer to publish, what shall be thought proper from time to time; provided that whatever be designed for the press, be first referred to the judgment of the society at three several meetings successively, and approved by the majority then present.

III. That if any of the drawings or prints belonging to the society, be of service to an author, he shall, by the consent of the majority, have the use of them, or any number of impressions, for such acknowledgments as shall be agreed on by the said author and the director, in the name, and for the use of, the society.

IIII. Out of the society yearly, or as often as is thought necessary, shall be elected, by the majority of voices, a president, secretary, director, and treasurer. The president, in all debates, shall have a double vote, and once a quarter inspect the officers' accompts by himself, or a committee appointed by him, who shall make a report to the society.

V. The secretary shall take an account of what is communicated to the society, shall read them papers at the weekly meetings, and transcribe

them into a book; shall register the orders, resolutions, and minutes, the admission of new members, the names and donations of all contributors.

VI. The director shall superintend and have the custody of all the drawings, engravings, and books, manage the printing and sale of them, paying the sums thence arising into the hands of the treasurer, and deliver to each member his dividend, calculated at the common price for which such books and prints shall be sold to stationers.

VII. The treasurer shall receive all subscriptions and contributions, etc., discharge the expenses of publishing, and give an account thereof as often as the society, or any member, think fit to inspect the same.

These have since occasionally received some alterations, and some few other rules have been added. They were signed by the then members (and most others since), Peter le Neve, Norroy king-at-arms, Pr.; William Stukeley, M.D., Sec.; John Talman of Grays Inn, esq., Director; Saml. Gale, esq., Treasurer; and Maurice Johnson, jun., was to have been librarian, could they have raised a stock sufficient to buy, or build, and erect a library. Since, the right honble. the earl of Hartford hath been, and now is, Pr.; the earl of Winchelsea, Roger Gale, esq., sir John Evelyn, bart, the right honble. lord Coleraine, and Smart Lethellieur, esq., have been V.P.; Dr. Massey, James West, of the Temple, esq., James Theobald, esq., Secrs.; Dr. Degg, Director; and many men of the first quality and learning, members, and amongst them several of this our Gentleman's Society in Spalding.—M. J.

The letters and papers which I now record will, I hope, add some particulars to the history of the Society of Antiquaries; many more might, I am certain, by further inquiry, be obtained; and I shall probably at a future time recur to the subject, for the history of the Society of Antiquaries is still to be written.

I had indulged the hope, that as it was thought proper to commemorate the centenary of the society under its charter, on the 23rd of April last (though the period for its celebration did not properly occur until the 2nd of November next), that a commemorative oration would have been delivered by the president on the occasion, setting forth the origin and progress of the society, and the means that have been adopted to carry out the objects for which it was instituted; and that, by a summary view of what had been done, it might also have been demonstrated that the fellows had not shewn themselves unworthy of the charter which had been granted to them.

Proceedings of the Association.

March 26, 1851.

In January (see p. 82, *ante*), Gilpin Gorst, esq. sent for inspection a sketch of Ree or Rere Cross, recently made by Mr. Thomas Bland, of Reagill. Mr. Gorst states that it is little altered in form since he first knew it more than sixty years ago, when he used to pass it frequently every year in going with his father from Staindrop to his living at Long Marton, near Appleby, but being at the very edge of the Glasgow road, where cattle and sheep were continually passing, it was frequently thrown down, and the edges defaced. Four years ago, he was told that a new part had been discovered within a few yards, half imbedded in the grass; and in an excursion through the county, he went to examine it, and found it to be merely a slab unconnected with the cross, lying there much weather-worn. The cross stands upon the boundary line between Yorkshire and Westmoreland. Since the establishment of the Newcastle and Lancaster and Carlisle railway, this road is very little used. The rev. James Holme, vicar of Kirkleatham, endeavoured some time since, through the medium of the *Westmoreland Gazette*, to draw attention to this monument, and observes that there are two most ancient relics, called by the name of Ree, or Rere Cross, on the verge of Watling-street (the great Roman road), upon the summit of Stainmoor. Geoffrey of Monmouth records that Marius, who reigned over a part of Britain *circa* A.D. 73, encountered Rodric, king of the Picts, who came from Scythia with a great fleet, and arrived in the north part of Britain which was called Albania, and began to ravage the country. Marius raised an army, went in quest of him, gave battle, killed him, and gained a victory, to record which he erected a monument in the province, which from his name was afterwards called *Westmorland*, where (says the historian) there is an inscription to this day. (See *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores*, lib. 4, cap. xvii.) This account is confirmed by Matthew of Westminster, who places the year of the victory obtained A.D. 87, and that the stone had graven on it these words: MARII VICTORIA. *The English Chronicle*, according to Holinshed (vol. i. p. 504), saith that "this stone was set up on Stanesmoore, and that the whole countrie thereabout taking name of this Marius, was Westmaria, now called Westmorland." Archbishop Ussher quotes evidence to prove the erection of a Red or Royal Cross, and to confirm the origin of the name of Westmoreland from Marius. In his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, vol. vi, cap. xv. p. 107, ed.

Dublinii, he says: "In Saxeto quod in Westmorlandiæ et Richmondiensis comitatus confiniis positum, Stane-more (*Camden in Cumberland*, c. xiv) hoc est, ericetum lapidosum dicitur, commissum fuisse hoc prælium Malmesburiensis ille monachus qui eulogium scripsit, Johannes Hardingus et Gulielmus Caxtonus retulerunt. Ibidemque titulum a Mario positum fuisse opinatur Hardingus (*Chron.* c. 49) ubi crux stetit lapidea, quam Reicrois et Rerecrosse appellant, atque crucem vel rubeam vel regiam interpretantur: quamque a Gulielmo I, Angliæ et Malcolmo III, Can-more sive capitone, Scotiæ rege tanquam limitem utrique regno fixam fuisse, Scotorum tradunt historici. (*Hect. Boeth. Scot. Hist.* lib. xii; *Leslæi de Gest. Scot.* lib. vi; *et Buchanani Rer. Scot.* lib. vii.) Author genealogiæ Britannicorum regum, qui Henrici VI temporibus scripsit, et cum eo consentiens Caxtonus, hunc titulum lapidi a Mario inscriptum dicit: 'Hic Westmer rex Britanniæ vicit Rodric ejus inimicum.' Eulogii scriptor titulum alium, a veteribus Anglis (ut genus sermonis prodit) magno lapidi incisum, ad sua usque tempora durasse asserit:—

Here the king Westmer
Slew the king Rothynger.

Hic rex Westmer
Occidit regem Rothinger."

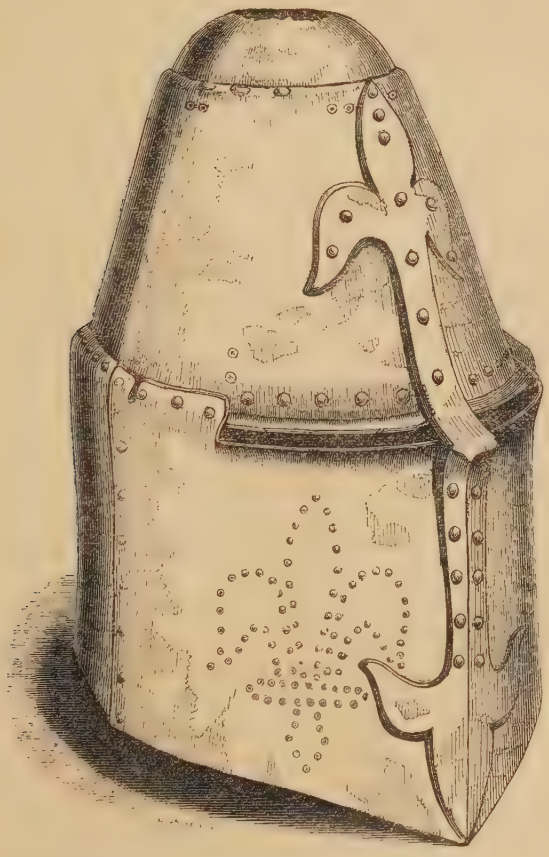
It seems pretty clear that the former of these ancient stones is still standing, though much mutilated, and probably now only kept in its socket by a few loose stones, as shewn in the subjoined cut:—

The rev. Mr. Holme describes the other as prostrate, and about ten yards north of the original. On one side, he says, there are distinct traces of à

human figure, which appears to have been inlaid with some precious metal. The stone is about four feet long. There is also a conical aperture at the top, of three inches diameter, and about the same depth; in this, Mr. H. conjectures, has probably been inserted some cross of costly metal.

The circumstances connected with these relics seem to entitle them to consideration, and the situation in which they are placed is remarkable. They lie close by the old Roman encampment on Watling-street, and midway between the Hospitium (now called the Spittle), where are still to be found the bones of Roman warriors, and "Maiden Castle", probably deriving its name from Magnum Castellum, evidently a fortress of great strength in its former and primitive state.

Mr. Pratt, of Bond-street, exhibited, through Mr. Planché (see p. 83, *ante*), a very fine specimen of a tilting helmet of the reign of Edward III,



recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Sevenoaks, Kent. It resembles in general form that of Edward the Black Prince, at Canterbury,

and that of sir Richard Pembridge at Goodrich Court, but is larger, and apparently earlier in date than either, and forms a most valuable link in the chain of English examples which it has been the good fortune of the Council, mainly through the kindness of Mr. Pratt, to place before the Association: a helmet of the sugar-loaf form, of the time of Edward II, being the only one now wanting to complete the series from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

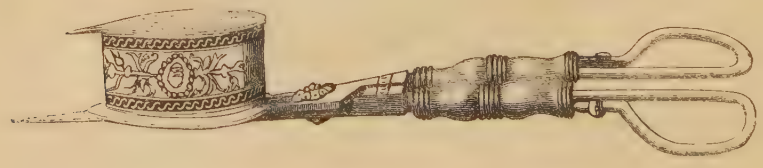
The rev. C. W. Bingham, of Melcombe Bingham, exhibited to the Association the seal of Richard Prior, of Frampton, Dorset, which appears to be of the latter part of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, and reads *S. RICARDI. PRIORIS. DE FRVNTVNE. It was dug up in a field at Sydling. There are now no remains of the priory of Frampton; and prior Richard is not named in the imperfect lists given by Hutchins in his *History of Dorsetshire*, whose scanty information on the subject of the priory appears to have been extracted from Dugdale.

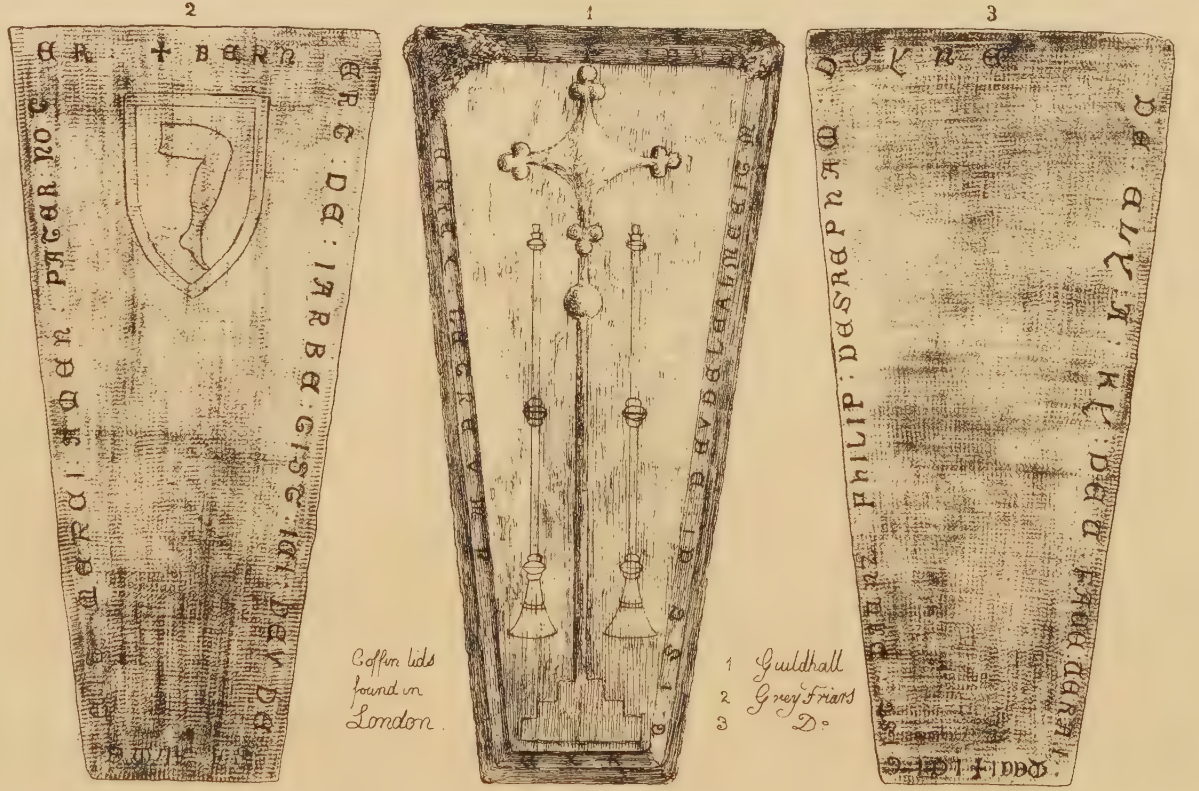
Charles Baily, esq., F.S.A., exhibited a dagger of the time of Elizabeth, found in the Thames at Barnes.

W. H. Black, esq., laid before the Association a pair of brass snuffers of the time of Henry VIII, belonging to Mr. Hamilton, of Hammersmith, at which place they were found, about forty feet below the surface of the ground (see the annexed cuts).

Henry Norris, esq., of South Petherton, transmitted a small brass coin of Helena, daughter of Constantine, wife of Julian. On the obverse and reverse the legend reads *Sacus* instead of *Salus Reipublicæ*.

W. W. E. Wynne, esq., F.S.A., exhibited, through Mr. Planché, various seals of great interest, relating to the borough of Wenlock, and the Arundel family, which were referred to Mr. Planché for arrangement and future publication.





Coffin lids found in London.

1 Guildhall
2 Grey Friars
3 D°

A. A. Burtett F.S.A.
1851

April 9.

J. B. Scott, esq., exhibited the drawing of a floriated slab in Merton church, Surry.

A. H. Burkitt, esq., F.S.A., presented drawings of two monumental slabs, or coffin-lids, which were found under the spot where formerly stood the entrance to the Grey Friars' monastery, now Christchurch, Newgate-street. These memorials are probably the only two remaining of those mentioned by Weever in his work on *Ancient Funeral Monuments within the United Monarchie of Great Britain and Ireland;* of upwards of six hundred monumental stones in alabaster and marble, which formerly adorned the chapel of the old monastery, and the whole of which he describes as having been sold by sir Martin Bowes, the lord mayor in 1545, for £50. The two slabs (represented in plate XVI, figs. 2 and 3) are of black marble and oolite; the latter (fig. 3), from exposure to the weather in the churchyard, being in a very bad state, with the inscription scarcely legible. It reads: "Ici : gist : Daunz : Philip : de : Srepham : doyne : de : Ely : a : Ky : Deu : face : uerai : meci :" which may be rendered,—"Here lies master Philip de Srepham, dean of Ely, to whom may God do true mercy." The other (fig. 2), in black marble, is of similar form, with the inscription also in Norman French: "Bernert : de : Jambe : gist : ici : deu : de : sa : alme : eit : merci : amen : Pater : noster :" On this there is a shield containing the figure of *a leg*, this being a rebus on the name. The rarity of remains of this character and period in London, makes it advisable to preserve these memorials. A fine specimen of a similar description is now preserved in the museum at Guildhall, which was discovered near that place, together with the coffin, which it covered, entire. The inscription (see fig. 1, plate XVI) of this is worthy of remark, the name being TROUMPOUR; and on each side of a floriated cross, ornamenting the lid, are incised two *trumpets*. These have been erroneously described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* as two *tapers*. The form of the slabs, as well as the writing, may probably fix their date towards the close of the thirteenth century.

Mr. J. F. Baigent laid before the Association a finely-illuminated MS., written on vellum, of the offices of the Romish Church. It was of English writing, and has been at Winchester for more than two hundred years. The names of many of the popes and other Romish saints are struck out, as directed by parliament in the reign of Henry VII.

W. H. Black, esq., exhibited one of many Roman vessels which had been found in digging for the foundation of Mr. Bowman's sugar-house in Mill-yard, Goodman's Fields. Various portions of Roman pottery were likewise dug up, on one piece of which was the maker's name, VICTORINUS.

A. H. Burkitt, esq., F.S.A., exhibited a portion of a Roman stamp;

but the place where found is not known. The portion preserved reads: C · SEI · EV; on the second line, HARI. Mr. Burkitt also read a paper on several Romano-Gaulish remains existing in Paris and its vicinity, and alluded, in particular, to the altars and other objects which had, at various times, been found on the site of the ancient Lutetia. This led Mr. Burkitt to notice the noble remains of a Roman aqueduct at Arqueil near Paris, the existing portions of which he minutely described; and these, with illustrations, will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mons. Delisle, of Valognes, in Normandy, addressed a communication relative to the family of Clemence countess of Chester, to J. R. Planché, esq. (See pp. 123-132 ante.)

F. H. Davis, esq., F.S.A., exhibited a fine specimen of polycephalic amulet in terra cotta, which was referred for consideration.

April 30.

H. W. King, esq., exhibited a curious specimen of ancient needlework. It consisted of a portion of embroidery of an elaborate design, and is conjectured to have been part of a frontal, or ante-pendium, and formerly belonged to a chapel in Norfolk. It has been suggested that it may have ornamented the back of a chasuble; but from the coarseness of the material on which it is worked, and some other considerations, Mr. King is rather inclined to the former opinion. It is difficult to determine its precise age, but may be conjectured to be not later than the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the accompanying etching (see plate XVII), for which the Association is indebted to Mr. King, he has endeavoured to give an accurate representation of it on a scale of two-eighths to the inch; but it is impossible to convey, by this means, an idea of the beauty of the work as exhibited in the original. The figure of the Redeemer, upon which the embroiderer seems to have bestowed all the efforts of the needle, is very delicately and elaborately executed, and the expression of the features is hardly inferior in effect to a well-finished painting. As this figure is embroidered upon a separate piece of canvass, and afterwards attached, and is far inferior to the rest of the work, it may have been executed by a different hand. The whole is composed of gold thread, and floss-silk of various hues; the back-ground, copes of the angels, and the divine dove, being entirely worked with the former materials. It is now the property of Benjamin Adams, esq., of Dalston.

Dr. W. Bell read a paper on the subject of the Roman wall, which he traced through various parts of Germany, and promised future researches.

J. O. Halliwell, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., communicated a transcript from the Cotton Library, being the confession of the earl of Kent. (See Original Documents, p. 140 *ante*.) Mr. Halliwell believes that it has not been

scale 2/3 to the inch

Embroidery of the 14th century – supposed to be part of a Frontal or
Antependium. Etched from the original in the possession of Benjamin
Adams Esqre of Dalston, Middlesex.

H & Jr

printed; but statements of this kind, he remarked, should always be made with some degree of hesitation, the repositories of miscellaneous documents now in print being so very numerous.

Mr. T. H. Griffith laid before the Association some beautifully executed rubbings from brasses, of which the following is a list:—

HARROW-ON-THE-HILL.

Edmund Flambard, (*circa*) 1370.

John Flambard. This has a singular inscription, with the name divided, (*circa*) 1380-90.

George Aynesworth, in the habit of a doctor of theology. Three wives; fourteen children. 1488.

Man and wife, very large, probably portraits, (*circa*) 1550.

John Sankey and wife, (*circa*) 1560. Portrait.

John Lyon, founder of Harrow school, and wife, 1592.

DARTFORD, KENT.

Richard Martyn and lady, 1402. Mr. Waller remarked, that this is the first brass he has seen to one apparently not above the rank of a yeoman.

Agnes Appelton, wife of William Hesill, one of the barons of exchequer of Henry VI, afterwards wife of sir Thomas Molyngton, baron of Wemme, 1454. An elegant example in a widow's habit.

Richard Brylton and wife, 1496. Unique. The inscription has been made out by Mr. Black as follows:—

O pytefull creatur conceiuyng erthly sepulture
Of katryn brylton subterrat ix day wᵗ yn June
Thowsand iiij c. lxxxxvj yer accurrent
wᵗ rychard brylton Jantilmā Spows to the katryn
Expired thowsand vᶜ (blank)
wᵗ hyer thus cumbent ask criest mā gcē yᵗ is urgent
wher thorow y pray our of theys twen schall he be savyour.

Inscription to John Beer, 1574.

William Death, principal of Staple Inn, 1590. Two wives.

HOO, KENT.

Thomas Cobham, esq., and lady.

John Brown, vicar, (*circa*) 1420.

Stephen and Richard Charles, 1456. Probably a monument to children.

Dorothy Plumley, 1615.

James Plumley and wife, 1640.

ST. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE.

A lady of the Pery family.

John Leventhorp, esq., 1510.

F. A. Carrington, esq., communicated to Mr. Planché the following addition to his paper (see page 52, *ante*):—

Wanborough, Wilts.

Extracts from *Sarum Institiones*, in the registry of the lord bishop of Salisbury, as to the chantry at Wanborough, shewing that Emelina de Longespee presented to it twice.

Ecclesia Vicaria vel Capella.	Patronus.	Clericus.
	1311.	
Capella Beate Katherine de Wombergh.	Domina Emelina Lungespeye.	Johannes Deuie de Bleby.
	1316.	
Cap. Wambergh.	Emelina Lungespee.	Johannes de Fayreford per resign Johannis devie.

William Lungespee, earl of Salisbury, granted the manor of Wanborough to his brother Stephen Lungespee, 30 Hen. III.—See Harl. Charter (in the British Museum), 53 B, 14.

F. W. L. Ross, esq., of Broadway House, Topsham, Devon, forwarded the drawing of a cocoa-nut shell, which, from the date and armorial bearings carved on it, he considered as one of the first introduced into England by sir F. Drake. One of its compartments (of which there are three) has the rose and crown of Elizabeth; the second bears the arms of Gilbert Staplehill, one of the Staplehills of Brimble, in the parish of Ashton, near Chudleigh, Devon. The said Gilbert died at Dartmouth in the year 1590, of which town he was then mayor; he lies in the chancel of the church; a fac-simile of the arms are still perfect in brass on his tomb. The bearings on the third have three horse-shoes; the ornamental carving is different on each compartment, but the whole is executed with great care and in fine relief.

H. S. Cuming, esq., read a paper on the polycephalic amulets of the Gnostics, and illustrated the same by a variety of examples. This communication was the result of the exhibition of Mr. Davis's specimen, and will be printed and illustrated in a future *Journal*.

May 14.

Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt exhibited a brass cross with the crucifixion, belonging to Mr. Brewer of Plymouth. The upper portion is defective, but the remainder measures two inches and a half. The spear and the sponge are given, and upon the entire cross are several characters in the Russian language. These crosses are not uncommon, and are not regarded as of any great antiquity, but no one has yet assigned the period to which they belong. This specimen was ploughed up at Horrabridge, in Devonshire, a few months since.

Mr. L. Jewitt also exhibited a diptych of a square form, measuring one inch and three-eighths, such as are used by the members of the Greek church as portable altar pieces. On the exterior of one portion

there is a cross with the spear and sponge, and various characters in the Russian language. Within, the two departments are finely executed and enamelled. There are various representations of the virgin and child, saints, etc., with inscriptions over them. The rev. Joseph Hunter lately exhibited a triptych of this description to the Archæological Institute (*Journal* for March 1851, p. 103), and noticed a fine example of a folding altar with five leaves, which is now to be seen at the Museum of Practical Geology, and was formerly in the collection at Strawberry Hill. Mr. Hooper, of Manningtree, has one which was found under the cliffs at Harwich about 1790.

The cross upon Mr. Jewitt's specimen of diptych corresponded in shape with that of the cross found at Horrabridge.

C. R. Smith, esq., F.S.A., communicated the following extracts from a letter addressed to him, May 10, 1851, by Mons. J. A. de Gerville, Hon. F.S.A. of Valognes, Normandy, foreign member of the Association:

"Dans le dernier numéro du *Journal de l'Association*....j'ai vu deux mentions de l'abbaye de Furness, ancienne dépendance de celle de Savigny. Je vais tacher dans cette lettre d'enlever une erreur qui est passée en usage d'autres des meilleures descriptions historiques et topographiques de l'Angleterre, et cette erreur est d'autant plus dangereuse que la plupart de ces ouvrages ont une mérite réelle.

"En parlant des abbayes d'Angleterre de l'ordre des Cisterciens qui dependent de l'abbaye de Savigny, on ajoute presque toujours que cette abbaye de Savigny était près de *Lyons*. Il y avait effectivement près de Lyon une abbaye de Savigny; mais on ne peut pas la confondre avec celle du diocèse d'Avranches, car celle de Lyon était de l'ordre des Bénédictins, et d'ailleurs elle n'était pas assez considérable pour avoir dans sa dépendance un grand nombre de monastères en Angleterre et en Irlande.

"J'ai une autre raison decisive à faire valoir; c'est que je possède une copie textuelle faite entièrement par moi, du cartulaire de notre abbaye de Savigny, que je retrouvai à Mortain en 1810, et que j'ai déposé aux archives du département de la Manche. Dans ce cartulaire nous avons les bulles de plusieurs papes du douzième siècle, où se trouve l'énumeration des abbayes de France et l'Angleterre que dépendaient de celle de Savigny. Il y a même deux générations de ces abbayes, qui sont appellés dans un cartulaire subséquent de Savigny "*propriæ filiæ et filiarum filiæ*". Je pourrais vous compter plus de 60 abbayes provenant de cette *mère:* mais je me contenterai de vous donner le nom des abbayes d'Angleterre. J'omettrai celles d'Irlande: il n'y en avait pas en Ecosse. Voici les noms:—

Abbaies de Furnesio (Lancashire), 1120.
—— de Neth, in Wallia (Neath, Glamorganshire), 1120.
—— de Quarrera (Quarr, Isle of Wight), 1137.
—— de Cumbamaria (Combermere, Staffordshire), 1133.

Abbaies de Bilderras (Bilderras, Chester, Salop), 1133.
—— de Stratfordia (Essex), 1133.
—— de Buephestria (Buephestan, Devon), 1136.
—— de Bucklandia (Devon),
—— de Coqueshal (Coggershall, Essex), 1137.
—— de Bellalanda (Bellelande, York.), 1138.
—— de Basingwerch (Flint), 1131.
—— de Swinesheved (Holland, Lincoln), 1134.
—— de Kaloria (Chester), 1134.

Deux abbayes dans l'ile de Man :—

Abbaia de Fervaux (York.), 1145.
—— de Stanley (Wilts), 1151.
—— de Pulten (Chester), 1153.
—— de Stanlaw (in Wallia), 1178.
—— de Crokesden (Stafford), 1178.

Gall. Christ. xi, col. 553.

"A cette autorité je pourrais ajouter celle de *Neustria Pia*, celle du cartulaire, qui sont toutes en ma possession, mais vous ne les exigez pas. .... Je désire donc que vous trouvez les détails que je viens de vous donner comme suffisants pour éviter l'erreur dans laquelle tombent généralement vos compatriotes quand ils indiquent à *Lyon* le Savigny dont dépendent les abbayes dont je viens de parler. Ils se trompent aussi en mettant une *s* à la fin de Lyon. Cette manière d'écrire n'appartient qu'à une petite ville de *Lyons* que nous avons en Normandie, et où mourut Henri I, roi d'Angleterre en 1135."

William Kelly, esq., of the Town Hall, Leicester, addressed the following to J. R. Planché, esq. :—

"Having perused, with great interest, your paper on the badges of the House of Lancaster, in the twenty-fourth number of the *Archæological Journal*, I am induced to trouble you with the present communication on the subject, which I trust you will not deem an intrusion. I do so for the purpose of sending you an extract from an ancient deed preserved in the Muniment Room of this borough; which, although it may not, in reality, be of any value, may probably be interesting to you, if only as illustrating the connexion of the red rose with the house of Lancaster. Shall I, however, be exceeding the bounds of probability in supposing it possible that it may even tend to indicate that this badge was borne by that house as representing the honour of Leicester? should such be the case, it would explain the reason of its being borne equally by Henry the first duke of Lancaster, and by John of Gaunt,—viz., as earls of Leicester.

"The deed in question, which bears date the 20th Feb. 1636, is an indenture of feoffment from the mayor, bailiff, and burgesses of the borough, to James Seele, and Eliz. his wife, of a piece of ground, which

it declares 'to be houlden of our said soveraigne lord the king, his heires and successors, *as of his honnor of Leicester*, in right of his highness dutchey of Lancaster, by ffealtye onelye in ffree and com'on soccage, and not in capitye; yielding and paying therefore yearlye unto the maior of the burrough of Leicester for the time beeinge, a *damask rose*, at or uppon the ffeast daye of Saint John the Baptist. And also yielding and payinge all chiefe rents yearlye yssueinge or goeinge forth of the same.'

"It may be necessary to state that queen Elizabeth, in 1589, granted to the corporation of Leicester, in fee farm, various possessions of the dissolved religious houses in the town, and also others belonging to the honour of Leicester, of which latter this is one: the rents, etc., have, of course, remained the same from an early period. I may mention that the red rose is still presented annually by the owner of the ground, and is the only tenure of the kind remaining here.

"The rose forms an ornament of the diapered background of an ancient seal of one of the courts of law (the Common Pleas?), temp. Hen. IV, which is attached to a deed in the possession of this corporation. An engraving of a similar seal occurs in Throsby's *History of Leicestershire*, vol. ii, p. 328). The reverse has the arms of England and France quarterly, with two greyhounds, or antelopes, as supporters,—apparently the former,—and the legend, 'Sigillum pro brevibus coram Justiciariis.' The legend round the obverse is, 'Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglie et Francie'; and from the style of the figure of the king, one might almost imagine it to be of a still earlier period.

"With respect to the ostrich feathers. I have now before me a charter in Norman French, granted under the duchy seal on the 20th Feb., fifth Henry IV. The seal has the shield of the duchy arms between two feathers in a scroll, *argent;* whilst an engraving of this king's seal, as earl of Derby, etc., from a deed dated 1395, in the duchy office, will be found in Mr. Stockdale Hardy's pamphlet on the supposed tomb of Mary de Bohun, countess of Derby, in the chapel of Trinity Hospital, Leicester."

Mr. H. W. Rolfe exhibited a large satirical medal of the date of 1688, a specimen of which was in sir George Duckett's collection, and is figured in Van Loon's *Histoire Metallique des dix-sept Provinces des Pays-Bas*, tom. iii, p. 347. This author figures two others relating to the same subject, and bearing the same inscriptions. On the obverse there are the figures of Louis XIV, Soliman III, Mezomorto, the dey of Algiers, and James II of England. They are arranged round an altar, confirming their alliance by a solemn oath. On the face of the altar appears a crescent, with a cross beneath it, and upon the altar there is fire, in the midst of which is a serpent. In the legend are the names of the persons represented; and in the exergue, "*Contra Christianismum.*" The reverse gives a representation of the devil with a sword in the right, and a thunder-

bolt in the left hand. Around is the inscription, "*In fœdere quintus*"; and the date, 1688, is impressed on the lower part, in an ornament formed by the lilies of France. The Jesuit, Menestrier, has figured one of these medals in his *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand*, Paris, 1691, p. 40.

Thomas Lott, esq., F.S.A., exhibited a few Roman and medieval remains lately discovered in Little St. Thomas Apostle.

F. H. Davis, esq., F.S.A., exhibited two jugs, dug up some time since in Bonner's Fields. They appeared to the Association to be of oriental manufacture, and to belong to that class of pottery known as "eastern water coolers" with perforated diaphragms, upon which subject Mr. H. Syer Cuming has favoured the Association with the following remarks:—

"From the earliest ages, it has been the custom throughout the sultry regions of Asia and north-eastern Africa, to fabricate jars, bottles, and ewers, of porous earth, in which water might be placed for the purpose of keeping it cool. The Moorish conquerors of Spain introduced the practice into the south of Europe, where vessels for the purpose, called *alcarazzas*, are still manufactured at Andalusia, Valencia, etc., which closely resemble in form the ancient bottles and vases of the Arabs. The vessels were kept cool by the evaporation of water which was cast upon them, or else they were suspended so that a refrigerating current of air was constantly blowing on them. Chardin, who describes the water-coolers manufactured at Cora in Persia, says, that when required for use, they were first moistened with rose-water, and then hung up enveloped in wet cloths.—*Voyage en Perse*, t. i, p. 202.

"The elegant example of an ancient ewer, or water-cooler, brought to our notice by Mr. Davis, was exhumed about ten years back from a considerable depth in Bonner's Fields, near the old palace. It is of grey terra-cotta, eleven inches and a half high; the neck rather slender, and slightly compressed in front to form a small lip; the body is ovate, and richly decorated with an incuse pattern, produced by either engraving or stamping the design whilst the clay was in a plastic state. It is provided with a reeded handle, which springs from the opposite side to the spout and rests upon the upper part of the body of the vessel. The most peculiar feature in this ewer, however, is a perforated diaphragm which divides the vessel laterally at the base of the neck. In general form the ewer may be compared to some varieties of the Grecian œnochoe. At the same time and place was also discovered a second example of the water-cooler, also exhibited by Mr. Davis. It is of grey earth, nine inches and three-eighths high; the body nearly cylindrical, ornamented in a similar style to the former specimen, and like it, having a side handle and perforated diaphragm. With it was also found its small cover. These vessels, though a novelty to the British archæologist, will be at once recognized by those acquainted with eastern antiquities as of oriental workmanship, although the precise place of manufacture is

somewhat uncertain. The clay closely resembles that of which bottles are fabricated throughout Hindûstan; in general contour the vessels partake much of the character of those of south-western India, and their style of ornamentation also points to the same region. The perforated diaphragms which intersect the vessels at the neck are perfectly oriental in character, and are frequently met with in the water-coolers of the east. In proof of this assertion, I beg to call attention to an example from Bengal. It is formed of grey earth, one foot high; has a tall cylindrical neck with globose body, and with the diaphragm at the base of the neck. The vessel is flasked in split ratan, and is provided with a bail-handle at top formed of the same material, by which it can be carried in the hand, or suspended in the apartment, so that the current of air might keep the vessel cool.

"The next specimen to notice is an interesting fragment of an early Moorish water-cooler, lately discovered in Cannon-street, exhibited by Mr. J. B. Scott. It is the mouth with a small part of the neck of the vessel, and displays the perforated diaphragm in a very beautiful manner. This fragment is somewhat Romanesque in form. It is rather thin, and fabricated of light-coloured absorbent earth; the upper part irregularly covered with greyish-green glaze, more apparently by accident than design.

"We have also another example of the Moorish water-cooler. It is a bottle-shaped vase about ten inches and a half high, fabricated of red earth, the surface being covered with a dull yellow coat. The neck of the vessel is cylindrical, dilated into a cup at the upper part and again contracted at the mouth; the body is a compressed spheroid supported upon a low foot, and it has handles at the sides like the ancient amphoræ. It is slightly decorated with waved and diagonal lines scored and dotted in the clay whilst soft; and at the base of the neck is the perforated diaphragm. The form of this specimen is very elegant, and not inferior in design to many of the productions of ancient Greece. A similar vessel was in the museum of Thomas Dawson, esq., of Grasmere, Cumberland, sold last April by Messrs. Christie and Manson, where it was incorrectly stated to be Egyptian. Both it and the specimen before the Association are from Tunis. The Egyptian water vessels, however, like those in use in the Barbary States, are frequently provided with perforated diaphragms; and Khenneh, near Thebes, has long been famed for their manufacture. A water-cooler may be found among the African curiosities in the Ethnographical room of the British Museum. It is a gourd-shaped bottle about one foot high, formed of greyish porous earth, decorated with incuse waved lines, and the mouth protected with a perforated disk. The vessel is figured in Rymsdyk's *Museum Britannicum*, p. 39, where it is erroneously described as an earthen vessel for growing sallad, brought from Egypt by Paul Lucas.

"These water-coolers are provided with perforated diaphragms to prevent the ingress of scorpions, centipedes, small snakes, lizards, and other 'creeping things', so abundant in tropical climates.[1] The diaphragm forms a marked distinction between the water vessels of Asia and north-eastern Africa, and those of the south of Europe, the latter being unprotected in this way.[2]

"The discovery of Mr. Davis's Indian specimens is certainly a novel circumstance in this country, but it is not altogether without its parallel. Pottery of undoubted early Moorish manufacture has been exhumed in London; and to go no further than the records of the *Journal* of the Association, we find mention made in it of the discovery in Ireland of signets of porcelain;[3] and in vol. i, p. 46, is figured a stirrup of ancient Saracenic workmanship, found in the county of Derry; and in vol. iii, p. 329, is the report of the exhibition by the late rev. S. Isaacson, of a large single-edged knife or dagger, recovered from the bed of the river Lea, at Amwell, whose parent land was beyond all question Persia. Cufic coins have also been brought to light in various parts of England and the north of Ireland.[4] These facts ought to convince us, that to rightly understand and appropriate the different antiquities exhumed around us, we must extend the range of our research beyond the bounds not only of the Britannic islands, but of Europe, even into the far distant regions watered by the eternal waves of the mighty Yang-tse-kiang, the Ganges, Euphrates, and the Nile."

Mr. D. Falcke laid before the Association three very remarkable finger rings, one of which belonged to a pope, another to a cardinal, and the remaining one to the bishop of Lyons. Upon these, Mr. W. H. Black kindly promised to offer some remarks at a future meeting.

May 28.

Llewellynn Jewitt, esq., exhibited drawings of two very fine specimens of bronze celt, of different but not unusual forms, one of which, of the adze-shape, was found at Ycalmpton, near Plymouth; the other, square, chiselled-shaped, in Cornwall. Mr. Jewitt also exhibited a specimen of carved morse-ivory knife-handle, belonging to Mr. Spence of Plymouth, varying, in some particulars, from those described by Mr. Cuming (see

[1] This statement is given on native authority.

[2] In Horace Walpole's own Catalogue of Strawberry Hill, p. 10, mention is made of "a red Portuguese bowl with a grate at the bottom for cooling water". This vessel must not be confounded with the eastern water-coolers, but may be identified with the Roman *trulla vinaria;* the wine cup provided with an inner strainer in which snow was placed to cool the liquor and then removed, so that no impurity or sediment entered the wine.

[3] For notices of Chinese seals found in Ireland, see Journal, vol. i, 43; iv, 316; and vi, 149.

[4] Cufic coins have been discovered at Cuerdale, see "Numismatic Chronicle", vol. v, p. 94; and at Eastbourne, Sussex, see Journal, ii, 98, 187.

pp. 31-37, and plate II, *ante*). This specimen was referred to Mr. Cuming for his examination, and report at a future meeting.

J. R. Planché, esq., F.S.A., exhibited, through the kindness of Mr. Dominic Colnaghi, a remarkably fine sword and dagger, of Spanish workmanship, the property of — West, esq., and said to have been made for Francisco de Padilla, one of the generals of Charles V. The initials, F. P., appeared on the blade of the dagger, and were introduced into the ornamental portion of the guard. The weapons were in their original sheaths of leather, with steel mountings, and in very fine preservation. They were purchased in Spain by Mr. West, and are very valuable to the antiquary as peculiar types of the Spanish broadsword and dagger of the commencement of the sixteenth century. They are now in the collection of lord Londesborough.

S. R. Solly, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., laid before the Association the matrix of a seal discovered in the Abbey Church, St. Alban's, now in the possession of the rev. Dr. Nicholson, rector of St. Alban's. This interesting relic, which may be considered as belonging to the early part of the twelfth century, was found, in 1849, beneath the pavement of the chapel of St. Alban, behind the high altar; and Albert Way, esq., has given an account of it in a paper read before the St. Alban's Architectural and Archæological Society. The material of which the matrix is formed, is bone,—a circumstance of rarity; and Mr. Way regards it as supplying "a very curious example of the military equipment of a period which has left few authorities except the designs in illuminated manuscripts, and of which we have scarcely any vestiges amongst productions of the sculptor's art." The execution of the seal is very rude, and the figures by no means graceful. The subject consists of a mounted warrior, with a kite-shaped shield on his left arm, whilst in his right he holds a sword. The body armour, which is trellised, reaches below the knee. The rider wears a straight-necked goad-spur. The movement of the horse is singular, and interferes with the course of the inscription around the seal, which is approaching in shape to a pointed oval form. No satisfactory information has hitherto been obtained as to the personage represented: the legend reads ✠ SIGILLUM · RICARDI · DE VIERLI; but the latter two letters are somewhat defaced and illegible. Mr. W. L. Donaldson has suggested that the illegible part may be read as an s, making VIERS; in which case the owner of the seal may have been of the family of AVENIL DE VIERS, who came over with the Conqueror; but if two letters are to be admitted, of which there appears the greatest probability, then the name might be VIERNY. Both these names appear on the roll of the warriors of that time. Mr. Donaldson first thought the name was VIERIS, and that he might have been connected with the DE VERES, earls of Oxford. St. Alban's abbey formerly possessed a manuscript, which is now in the British Museum, containing a list of benefactors to the abbey, and therein

occurs ALFONSUS DE VEER. The matter is, however, altogether uncertain, and perhaps does not admit of a satisfactory solution. Mr. Donaldson is, however, persuaded that the name should read VIERLI, and that further inquiry may point out some connexion with the "ROBERT DE VIERLY recorded in Domesday Book as holding lands both in Norfolk and Suffolk; or with ROGER DE VIRLEY, who held lands in Berkshire and Norfolk in the reign of John."

T. J. Pettigrew, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., exhibited four wax deities of the Amenti, found by him in unrolling an Egyptian mummy from Thebes, belonging to the United Service Institution, on the 23rd May last. Mr. Pettigrew considered the discovery of these, namely, Amset, Hapée, Kebsnof, and Smauf, as highly interesting, and confirmatory of that which he had announced in a paper inserted in the twenty-seventh volume of the *Archæologia*. The Egyptians, it is well known, were the first to assign to particular divinities certain portions of the body over which they were destined to preside. They divided the human body into thirty-six divisions, each of which was under the government of decans, or aerial demons, presiding over the triple division of the twelve signs; and these were often specially invoked for the cure of diseases. Upon this the late celebrated Mons. Champollion constructed a sort of theological anatomy, derived from the Great Funereal Ritual. The deities of the Amenti, Mr. Pettigrew had shewn, were specially appropriated to the contents of the body: thus Amset was found by him, in the unrolment of the mummy of Petmaut-ioh-mes, at Jersey in 1837, to be bound up within the bandages which contained the stomach and large intestines; Hapée, with the small intestines; Kebsnof, with the liver and gall-bladder; whilst Smof, or Smauf, was found with the heart and lungs. The deities of the Amenti are very constantly depicted on the papyri, vases, and boxes for holding the viscera, carrying in their hands the bandages, as typical of their connexion with the practice of embalming. With the deities thus mentioned, there was also the wax figure of a bird, which is known as the Benno,—a bird considered by sir Gardner Wilkinson as holding the next rank to the ibis among the Egyptians, and emblematic of Osiris. It is figured in the *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 50, fig. 15; and also in woodcut number 340. Although the appearance of any emblem indicative of Osiris, the judge of Amenti, accompanying the deities of Amenti, cannot be regarded as extraordinary, yet Mr. Pettigrew observed it has never been recorded in the manner here found. The bird was lying loose, together with the Amenti deities, over the bandages which contained the viscera; and these had been removed from the body, and placed between the legs. Osiris is well known to take the character of the god Benno, who is distinguished by the head of a crane, having a tuft composed of two long feathers. (See figure of Osiris with the bird's head, in sir G. Wilkinson's work, plate 33, fig. 4.) In a small

sepulchre at How (Diospolis Parva), the bird benno is represented perched on a tamarisk-tree, which is reported to have been the tree, in the branches of which, on the coast of Byblus, the chest containing the body of Osiris was found. (Vide Plutarch de Iside et Osiride.) The hieroglyphics inscribed on the tomb at How, refer to the bird Benno, and are given by sir Gardner Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, vol. ii, p. 262, second series). Osiris is here specifically mentioned as emblematized by the bird.

Mr. James Cook, of York, presented to the Association a catalogue of Roman coins, and a series of drawings illustrative of the antiquities he had met with in excavations at York from 1845 to 1851. As several of these will be figured in future numbers of the *Journal*, it will be only necessary here to mention that they consist of bone combs, spears, shears, knives, amphoræ, and pottery of various kinds, urns, pateræ, etc.; rings, keys, needles, etc., in bronze. Mr. Cook also presented the following catalogue of Roman coins, found in railway excavations near the city walls from 1845 to 1850, which are now preserved in his cabinet:—

SILVER DENARII.		THIRD BRASS.	
Hadrian	1	Magnentius	2
Severus	1	Empress Theodora	1
Commodus	1	Claudius Gothicus	2
Antoninus	1	Tetricus, Sen.	4
Domitian	1	Tetricus, Jun.	1
Antoninus and Aurelius	1	Gallienus	4
Julia Sœamis	1	Postumus, Sen.	2
Carausius	1	Empress Fausta	1
FIRST BRASS.		Carausius	2
Antoninus	2	Allectus	2
Domitian	1	Gordianus Pius	1
Aurelius	1	Constantinus Maximus	1
Empress Lucella	1	Constantinus Chlorus	3
Commodus	1	Empress Helena (wife of Julianus)	1
Trajanus	1	Valens	3
SECOND BRASS.		Tacitus	2
Nero	1	Crispus	1
Hadrianus	1	Victorinus	1
Decius	1	Constans	2
Magnentius	1	Valentinianus	4

June 11.

Alfred Pryer, esq., of Hollingbourne, Kent, communicated to the Association that he had met with a quern stone, at a place called South Dean. It is of the green sand formation, thirty-six inches in circumference, and has a centre hole two inches and a half in diameter, and another at the edge of one inch and a half. This hole on the outer edge, Mr. Pryer supposes, was for the purpose of affixing a handle, with which it might be turned. The stone is of great weight.

A. H. Burkitt, esq., F.S.A., exhibited the drawing of a bronze Roman lamp lately found in Cannon-street; it is of an elegant form, and the handle is crescent-shaped.

J. B. Scott, esq., also exhibited various remains from the same locality, consisting of portions of pateræ, mortaria, and other pottery, plain and ornamented. One piece of Samian ware presents the name of the potter, which appears to be MARSUS; and on the rim of a mortarium there is stamped MORICAMUS.

With these Roman relics was also found the neck of a vessel having a perforated diaphragm, which is noticed by Mr. Cuming in his remarks on eastern water-coolers (page 170, *ante*).

J. Grove Lowe, esq., of St. Alban's, reported to the Association, that some labourers employed in widening a drive through Priors' Wood, Ayott St. Lawrence, Herts, had dug up, about six inches from the surface, a vessel containing about two hundred and thirty silver Roman coins; twenty of these are at present in the possession of a tradesman at St. Alban's; and Mr. Evans, of Abbot's Langley, has favoured us with the following description:—

IMPERIAL COINS.—8.

1. AUGUSTUS.

Obv.—Head of Augustus. *Rev.*—Cæsar Divi F.; Victory standing on a globe 1

Obv.—Head of Augustus. *Rev.*—Augustus; Capricorn holding a globe 1

Obv.—Cæsar Augustus Divi F. Pater Patriæ; laureated head of Augustus. *Rev.*—C. L. Cæsaris Augusti F. Cos. Desig. Princ. Juvent.; Caius and Lucius standing, with spear and shields; above, the capeduncula and lituus 3

In all respects as the last, but with x below the capeduncula and lituus 1

TIBERIUS.

Obv.—Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Augustus; head of Tiberius. *Rev.*—Pontif. Maxim.; a female seated, in her right a hasta, in her left a branch 2

FAMILY COINS.—12.

2. ACCOLEIA.

Obv.—P. Accoleius Lariscolus; a female head. *Rev.*—Three nymphs standing, their heads terminating in larch or poplar trees (the sisters of Phaethon) 1

ANTONIA.

Obv.—(Ant. Aug.) III (Vis R.P.C.); a galley. *Rev.*—Leg. XV.; the eagle between two ensigns 1

CALPURNIA.

Obv.—Archaic head of Apollo. *Rev.*—L. Piso Frugi; a horseman at full speed 1

CIPIA.

Obv.—M. C(ipi). M.F.; winged head of Rome; behind, x. *Rev.*—Victory in a biga; below, a rudder and Roma . . . 1

COCLIA.

Obv.—Head of Roma. *Rev.*—C. Coil. Cald.; Victory in a biga . 1

CORDIA.

Obv.—Rufus III Vir; heads of the Dioscuri. *Rev.*—(Ma)n Cordi-(us); a female standing, an owl on her shoulder, in her left a hasta pura, in her right a pair of scales 1

FONTEIA.

Obv.—M. Fontei C.F.; AP. in monogram; youthful laureated head with curls; underneath, a thunderbolt. *Rev.*—Cupid riding on a goat; above, the caps of the Dioscuri; beneath, the Thyrsus; the whole within a garland 2

FURIA.

Obv.—Brocchi III Vir; head of Ceres with a wheaten crown; behind, an ear of wheat; before, a barleycorn. *Rev.*—L. Furi Cn. F.; a curule chair between two fasces 1

JULIA.

Obv.—Head of Venus. *Rev.*—Cæsar; Æneas carrying Anchises . 1

VALERIA.

Obv.—Bust of Victory; before, *. *Rev.*—L. Valeri Flacci; Mars walking, in his right an ear of corn, in his left a trophy; an ear of corn on one side, the apex on the other 1

VIBIA.

Obv.—Pansa; A laureated head. *Rev.*—C. Vibius . C.F.; a quadriga 1

Mr. Lionel Ames, of the Hyde, near Luton, on behalf of his brother, on whose estate Priors Wood is situate, will probably succeed in recovering nearly all the coins. The fragment of the vessel in which the coins were found is of black Roman pottery. Mr. Grove Lowe is not aware of any vestiges of the Roman period having been found nearer than the well-known Harpenden cist (in the British Museum), discovered three miles to the west; and Verulamium, six miles and a half south of Priors Wood. Mr. Lowe suggests that these coins were buried during some of the earliest military operations commenced under Claudius. The site of Priors Wood is very elevated.

John Joseph Briggs, esq., of King's Newton, Swarkeston, forwarded for the inspection of the Association three specimens of Nuremberg

counters from a quantity found at Kegworth, Leicestershire, and a silver two-pence of Cromwell, found near Swarkeston bridge. Mr. Briggs also sent a glazed tile, which formed part of the floor of a stable belonging to a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Swarkeston; and the report respecting it is, that it had been brought from the priory at Repton, in Derbyshire. Upon it are inscribed the letters of the alphabet. This was referred for future consideration.

Colonel Hamilton Smith exhibited two tracings from manuscripts of the fifteenth century, illustrative of the barbican (vide *Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 302-9). One from a munuscript in the Burgundy library, at Brussels, shewing several barbicans in various styles of elevation; and the other from a manuscript of the Brut, in the library at Pendarve, exhibiting a large barbican, suspended apparently by chains, in front of the gate of a tower. These were referred to George Godwin, esq., the author of the paper on the barbican inserted in the *Journal*.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

The History and Antiquities of Melbourne and King's-Newton, situated in the County of Derby; including a Selection from the Unpublished Papers at Melbourne Hall, written during the reign of Charles I. By John Joseph Briggs, Esq., of King's-Newton, Swarkeston, Derbyshire. By subscription, in royal 8vo., price 7s. 6d. This will form the second edition of a work valuable for the variety of its contents, and the accuracy with which they are described. The members of the British Archæological Association who purpose attending the forthcoming congress at Derby, in August, will find it a valuable assistant in their researches.

Notes on the Antiquities of Treves, Mayence, Wiesbaden, Bonn, and Cologne. Reprinted from the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. By C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.—J. Russell Smith, 4, Old Compton-street, Soho.

In 8vo., by subscription, 12s. 6d., Memoirs of Owain Glyndwr. By T. O. Morgan. Mr. Morgan's Paper, entitled "Historical and Traditional Notices of Owain Glyndwr," which was read at the meeting at Dolgellau, has since been printed, with some additional matter, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. Encouraged by the promised assistance of his more immediate friends, the author has been indefatigable in the collection of fresh materials, which he intends to embody with the original sketch, and to publish the whole by subscription.—Subscriptions will be received by Richard Mason, Tenby; and W. Pickering, 177, Piccadilly, London.

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OCTOBER 1851.

INAUGURAL DISCOURSE, DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE DERBY CONGRESS.

BY SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, BART., D.C.L., PRESIDENT.

The objects of this Association have been so ably and eloquently defined in a paper read by our highly respected Treasurer, Mr. Pettigrew, at the Manchester congress of last year (see vol. vi, pp. 163-177), that I should consider it an unnecessary waste of your time to say much upon that subject. As old things are passing away, and all things are becoming new, it is surely desirable to have some place in which to chronicle things that have been, and to record the discovery of such relics of antiquity as still remain to us. Just such an opportunity does this Association offer: there are officers attached to it, who are well able to judge of the value of evidences that may be brought under their notice, and there is a well-conducted Journal in which papers that are read before the Association are subsequently printed. One of the great objects of the antiquary should be to throw light upon the history of bygone times, and to investigate for that purpose every authentic source to which he can have access; the earliest information is to him the most acceptable, particularly when confirmed by more recent discoveries. It is surely interesting to every native of the British Isles to know something of the manners and customs of those

actors who have performed their parts in the drama of life upon this little stage of ours, and I should therefore hope that a sketch, brief and cursory as it must necessarily be, of former possessors of the spot in which our congress is now assembled, may not be altogether unacceptable upon the present occasion.

That the various nations of the world, however they may differ in colour, form, customs, and language, are all derived from one common source, is a fact most satisfactorily proved by many antiquaries and physiologists—by none more clearly than the late learned Dr. Prichard—and it is surely a work of no common interest to trace as far as we can our relationship to the original stock. History, however, has preserved but few glimmerings of light as to the first inhabitants of Western Europe. We have the authority of the best and most ancient of books, the Bible, for asserting that the Isles of the Gentiles, a term by which it was known when Moses wrote the Pentateuch, were first peopled by the descendants of Japheth. Among these we may reckon the Keltoi or Galati, a people who are represented by classical authors to have passed over Europe, from east to west, at an early period, and the ancient Britons are universally admitted to have been a branch of this primæval race. Scanty indeed are the fragments we can now glean of their religious and social habits before they were visited by the Romans, and from these we may infer that they were little superior in civilization to the inhabitants of New Zealand, when we first discovered that island. In the enlightened period in which we live, it may be difficult to conceive that in a land "whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills they might have digged" that most useful of all minerals, coal, our rude forefathers should have long been contented with the use of stone knives and arrow heads of flint. Yet it was far more difficult for any one of them to have foreseen (and could he have done so, it would have been with horror and dismay) that their native woods, which supplied them with game for sustenance, and fuel for warmth, should ever have been cleared away by succeeding generations of intelligent agriculturists, and traversed by the highways and railroads of a great commercial people. I do not consider it beyond the province of archæology to contemplate the

infinite goodness of God in having stored up within the bowels of the earth the remains of that luxuriant vegetation, with which, at some remote period, its surface had been clothed for the benefit of his creature, man, until social necessities and the superior development of genius again required them in the form of coal. In like manner it appears to have been the design of the same over-ruling Providence that some of the records of past empires, which once exercised almost universal dominion over the earth, should be entombed, as it were, until a period when the revelation of them could be duly appreciated by enlightened and highly civilized inquirers, by whom the application of such discoveries could be brought forward to prove the veracity of prophetical history, and by analogy to confirm the truths of holy writ. Sure I am, that if these inquiries be pursued in a proper frame of mind, the more we discover, the firmer will these truths be established. Had not mounds of rubbish concealed from view the sculptured treasures of the ancient Nineveh, the Arab spoiler, in his mistaken zeal, would have long since demolished them. No Layard would have been required to direct, with master mind, their excavation, no Rawlinson to interpret a language, the very characters of which had for ages been forgotten. Until such men as Belzoni, Young, Champollion, Rosellini, and sir Gardner Wilkinson had been born in the world, the Egyptian tombs would have been reopened in vain; the religious and domestic habits of one of the most celebrated nations of antiquity, which are pourtrayed in such vivid colouring on the walls of their temples and their sepulchres, would have had no chroniclers.

Devoutly is it to be wished that the efforts now making by men of science to put us in possession of these antique treasures met with better encouragement from the government of this great nation. Will it be credited by historians of a future day that the magnificent monument of Egyptian art, familiarly known by the name of Cleopatra's needle, after having been won by the valour of our brave soldiers under Abercromby, and afterwards given by Mehemet Ali pasha to our king George IV, should have been suffered to lie prostrate on the sands of Alexandria for nearly half a century, through the paltry dread of expending a few thousand pounds in its removal ?

The scientific world are much indebted to Mr. Gould, a member of this Association, for having repeatedly brought this matter before the public, and urged government to pursue a more liberal course respecting it. I hesitate not in saying, that we all should rejoice in seeing his meritorious efforts, ere long, crowned with success.

How wonderfully is it ordained, that the care bestowed upon the burial of the dead should throw light upon the customs and manners of the living! Yet such is the case both among the barbarous and civilized nations of antiquity. With regard to the original inhabitants of Britain, the page of history, as I have before observed, furnishes us with very slight information, but upon opening their tombs we find ample proofs of their ignorance and superstition; the rude simplicity of their manners is there developed, and we begin to trace a gradual approximation to a more refined state by a comparison of the contents of more ancient and more recent barrows. For most interesting investigations of this kind we are under great obligations to Mr. Bateman, another member of this Association, who has spared neither labour nor expense in excavating many of the tumuli in the northern parts of this and the adjoining county of Stafford; the results of which he has published under the title of *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, and who has kindly invited us to examine his curious collection at Youlgrave. As he has also promised to favour us with a paper upon the subject, I will not make any further reference to it, beyond inviting the attention of other members to similar investigations in the several localities where they may reside. It would certainly appear, from the number of barrows and circles of stones found in the hilly district of the county, that it was a favourite resort of the ancient Britons, but yet nearly the whole of our towns and villages exhibit in their names a Saxon origin; we may, therefore, fairly presume that this county was not fully inhabited before the arrival of that industrious people. The fact seems to be, that the southern part of Derbyshire, together with portions of the adjoining counties of Nottingham, Stafford, and Leicester, formed one extensive forest, of which Shirewood, Needwood, Charnwood, Melbourn Chase, and

Duffield Frith, remained as vestiges until a comparatively recent period. This wild tract of wood land afforded shelter to various beasts of chase; the wolf, the wild boar, and the bear, although now extinct in this kingdom, were then to be found in abundance, and from a passage in the poet Martial, when speaking of the punishment of Laureolus, we are led to believe that the Romans were supplied from the woods of Britain with bears for the use of their amphitheatres. Among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, No. 603, there is also a representation of an Anglo-Saxon amphitheatre, in which a person is exhibiting a tame bear for the amusement of the spectators; surely this proves their existence in the country at that time, for the Anglo-Saxons would not be likely to have imported bears for the purpose; we have traces in this immediate neighbourhood of bears having been kept at an early period; for the hamlet of Bearwardcote (now Barrowcote) took its name, undoubtedly, from being the residence of a bear keeper. The horns of the red deer, and the occiput of the wild cow, have frequently been discovered in this neighbourhood, proving that both these animals were indigenous, and existing here at no very remote period.

The Romans did not become the possessors of the midland parts of this kingdom until they had secured their conquests in the more southern provinces; they then found them occupied by a British tribe, called Coitani, or Coritani, the first evidently from the British *coëd*, a wood, alluding to the state of the country they inhabited; the latter, in all probability, from the Latin *corium*, in reference to the skins, with which they were still clothed. Few traces of these Celtic tribes are now to be found in the names of our towns and villages, but upon the broad features of nature they have left memorials of their former occupancy. Our rivers and mountains, in many instances, still retaint heir British appellations. The word *tor* is usually applied to mountains having one or more of their sides abrupt and precipitous—we find its root in the Welsh language, *torr* there signifying a breaking off. Several of our remarkable eminences in Derbyshire are so designated, as Mam or Mother tor, Graned tor, Matlock tor, Durwood tor, Row tor, Bunster, and Winster,

and a similar application of the word occurs in the rocky parts of south Devon. The names of our rivers, also, are principally of British origin; the Dove, which has by some been erroneously supposed to be so called from the bird, a dove, finds an appropriate derivation in the Welsh *dwfr*, water; and it was, probably, so distinguished because it was the water of partition between the two adjoining tribes of the Coritani and the Cornavii; the Churnet takes its name from the British *chwyrn*, swift; and the Wye is a common designation of a river, derived from *gwy*, liquid. But the river Derwent, which flows through this town, claims upon the present occasion our special attention; its name is compounded of the British words, *dwr*, water, and *gwent*, clear, according to the high authority of Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Whalley*,—the latter word, *gwent*, is now applied by the Welsh to a clear open country, devoid of wood; which well describes the bleak moors, among which this river rises, and where there is still a village of the same name.—Upon the banks of this river the Romans built a small town, the British name of which they corrupted, and called it *Derventio*, now commonly known as Little Chester. From the number of Roman coins which have been found here, and the roads, which branched from hence in various directions, it must have been a place of some importance: the produce of the lead mines in the northern parts of this county was, probably, transmitted through it to the more southern provinces of the kingdom; that these lead mines were worked by the Romans to a considerable extent is evident from the pigs of lead which have been found with Latin inscriptions upon them, three of which were discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of Matlock.

Besides those found at Derventio, Roman coins have been collected at many other places in the county—at a farm near Alfreton, at Culland, Crich, Cromford, Belper, Eyam, Haddon, Darley in the Dale, Bolsover, and Chesterfield; when cutting a branch of the Pinxton railway, near Mansfield, a Roman pot, containing silver coins of the emperor Pertinax and others, were discovered by the workmen, and unfortunately broken. At Callingwood, in Staffordshire, near Burton-on-Trent, in the year 1788, thirty-two gold Roman coins were turned up by the plough,

and a valuable Roman or British torquis was brought to light in the year 1848, by some foxes, which had formed an earth in a wood belonging to her Majesty, called the Greaves, near Hanbury.[1] Other Roman instruments have been found at various times in this county, but few altars have yet been discovered. Of the Roman roads the Rykneld Street, upon which Derventio stood, was the principal; it extended from Etocetum, now called Wall, near Lichfield, to Legeolium, now Castleford, in Yorkshire. A station, named "Ad Trivonam", is placed by Richard of Cirencester, between Etocetum and Derventio, the site of which has generally been fixed at Branstone, near Burton-on-Trent, but I am inclined to give the preference to Stretton, on this side of that town, where coins, and other Roman relics, have occasionally been found. Other roads appear to have branched off from Derventio; one in the direction of Buxton; another through Cubley, near which Roman coins have been found, to Rocester, in Staffordshire, where, in 1792, some Roman baths, the brass head of a spear, and several Roman brass coins were discovered; a third is supposed to have passed from Derventio, across the Trent, at Stanton, from thence, near Ashby de la Zouch, where a number of coins have been found, to Manceter, in Warwickshire; whilst marks of a fourth are said to have been perceived on the east side of the Derwent, bearing direct for the Roman station of Ratæ, the present town of Leicester.

During the 400 years that Britain was in subjection to the Romans, a higher state of refinement was no doubt acquired by its native population—they learned from their conquerors the arts of peace as well as those of war; they gradually acquired some taste for literature, and the sciences of Rome and Greece were from time to time unfolded to their view,—but the greatest boon conferred upon them by Roman intercourse, was the early introduction of Christianity. I will not undertake to say that the great apostle of the Gentiles preached among them, but there is good reason to believe that the Claudia, whose greetings he sends to Timothy, chap. iv, 21, was a lady of British extraction. It is true, indeed, that erroneous doctrines very soon assailed the infant church, which was at length obliged to

[1] See *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii, p. 175.

retire before the prevailing force of the Saxon pagans, but it was still fostered in the remote parts of the kingdom, in Ireland, and in Iona, from all of which teachers were sent at a subsequent period to instruct and convert the idolatrous invaders. Whether the present town of Derby owes its name to a contraction of the ancient Derventio added to the Saxon termination *by*, or whether it is entirely of Saxon origin, I will not now undertake to determine. The word *deor* was not confined in the Saxon language to animals of the deer tribe, but signified a wild beast of any kind; if, therefore, the latter derivation be adopted, the name Deoraby would mean a place or abode of wild beasts, which is fully confirmatory of the opinion I have already expressed, that the southern part of Derbyshire continued in a state of unreclaimed woodland until after the departure of the Romans from the island. Under the occupation of the Saxons, however, a different scene soon took place; the woods were felled, the more fertile soils brought into cultivation, and numerous villages were erected by the active inhabitants of Teutonic race.

Our Saxon forefathers have left ample proofs of their idolatry, not only in the names which the days of the week still retain, but in those of towns dedicated to their idols. We have Tutbury and Wednesbury, both in the county of Stafford, which must have been founded very soon after the settlement of the Mercian kingdom. A church in this town of Derby also indicates the history of their conversion. Alkmund was a son of the pious Alfred, a christian king of Northumbria, who, upon the accession of Peada, the son of Penda, to the throne of Mercia, came here, with other holy men from Iona, at the request of the latter, to evangelize his subjects. It is worthy of remark, that the first Mercian bishops had all received their education in Ireland, where the remnant of the ancient church still flourished. Their exertions were successful, and christianity spread through Mercia with wonderful celerity after Penda's death. Their see was first fixed at Repton, at that time the capital of the kingdom, but it was afterwards removed to Lichfield about the middle of the seventh century. Another church in this town is dedicated to Werburgha, the daughter of Wulphere, king of Mercia, who, preferring a life of pious seclusion to the allurements

of a court, retired to Ely, but was summoned from thence by her uncle Ethelred to superintend the monasteries of Trentham and Hanbury; at the former she died, and at the latter, at her own special request, she was buried, according to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, in the year of our Lord 782. But the kingdom of Mercia was doomed, ere long, to receive a shock which overwhelmed for a time its religious and social polity, and from the effects whereof it never fully recovered. An army of idolatrous Northmen from the shores of Denmark had for some years carried on a predatory warfare in various parts of England, and their forbearance had been more than once purchased by Burhred, the Mercian king, who resided at Repandune, now Repton. In the winter of 874 these fierce barbarians took forcible possession of Derby and Repton, drove the king from his throne, and laid waste the whole of the surrounding country. Churches and religious houses appear to have been selected as the particular objects of their fury; they consigned the edifices to the flames, and their inmates to the sword. The terrified inhabitants of Hanbury having witnessed this demolition of churches and monasteries by the ruthless spoilers, transported the remains of their beloved and sainted Werburgha to the distant city of Chester, where her shrine, in after ages, was frequented by crowds of devotees. Their monastery was so completely destroyed upon this occasion, that not a vestige of it, except the site on which it stood, is now visible. The monastery at Repton, dedicated to St. Wistan, in which the bodies of several Mercian kings had been deposited, shared a similar fate; but I would venture to direct the special attention of our antiquarian friends to the crypt there, and a part of the present church above it, as probable remnants of this religious house. Anarchy and confusion prevailed throughout the land for several subsequent years, until the master mind of Alfred the Great compelled the blood-stained warriors of the north to settle down into quiet citizens, and subjected the pagan worshippers of Odin to the mild influences of a purer faith. After this great change had been effected by Alfred, Derby still remained in the possession of the Danes, and was denominated one of the five Danish burghs of Mercia; the name of Normanton, which several of our villages still bear, point out also a few

of the other places in which these Northmen continued to reside. The care of Mercia was consigned to Ethelred, who had married Ethelfleda, the daughter of Alfred, under the title of duke or earl, but he died in 912, and his heroic wife was then called upon to defend this province against the invasion of the Welsh, and an insurrection of the restless Danes, who had garrisoned the town, and fortified the *Castle* of Derby against her. The exact site of this *Castle*, I believe, cannot now be ascertained; but, after a vigorous resistance, both it and the town fell into the hands of the Saxon princess, who completely demolished the former, and it was never afterwards rebuilt. When the great survey called Domesday was made, we find that nearly the whole landed property of Derbyshire had passed into the hands of Normans, of whom Henry de Ferriers, and William Peverel were among the most powerful; the former in the southern, and the latter in the northern part of the county: by the marriage with the heiress of Peverel, the house of Ferrers soon became possessors of both estates, and continued to enjoy them for four generations, under the title of earls of Derby. The principal towns, however, such as Derby, Wirksworth, Ashburne, Bakewell, and Repton, were held by the conqueror, and in most of these places we find ample proofs of the depreciation in the value of property, which had taken place since the time of Edward the Confessor. Upon the attainder of Robert de Ferrers, the last earl of Derby of that family, we know that his forfeited estates were given to Edmund, earl of Lancaster, and afterwards passed by an heiress to the celebrated John of Gaunt, who was created duke of Lancaster. His son ascended the throne under the title of Henry IV, and ever since that time the duchy of Lancaster has been annexed to the crown as the private property of the reigning monarch. During the period which elapsed from the Norman conquest to our eighth Henry, nearly the whole of our ancient parochial churches, the towers and spires of which still form such handsome ornaments in the features of our county, were erected; the architectural beauties of many of them are well worthy of the most minute inspection; but while we admire the zeal which prompted their erection, let us carefully avoid the gross superstitions which some of the devices sculptured on their walls too plainly expose.

The modern history of Derby does not fall within the scope of this address, but there was one event, that happened nearly in the middle of the last century, of so remarkable a kind, as fully to deserve a passing notice. Here terminated the desperate and ill-advised invasion of the Scotch, under the command of Charles Edward Stuart, in 1745; on Wednesday, the 4th of December in that year, they arrived in this town, and after a deliberation of two days they retreated in the same direction they came, but not before they had exacted considerable sums of money from the inhabitants. The house where *the* Stuart took up his head-quarters still exists, in much the same state as it then was, and if any member of the Association should wish to see it, I am sure that it will give the worthy owner the greatest pleasure to grant him that indulgence. Another occurrence of a very different nature had previously taken place in the early part of the same century, which gave a commencement to the staple trade of this town at the present day, as permanent in the good effects it has produced as the other was transitory in its evils. "In 1717 the manufacture of silk was established here by the ingenious but ill-fated mechanic, John Lombe." He acquired a knowledge of the art of silk throwing from the Italians, who had for some time enjoyed a monopoly of it, and he here erected a mill of the largest size that had ever before been built in England, which he furnished with appropriate machinery; he was not, however, permitted to enjoy the fruits of his labour; the jealousy and revenge of the Italians brought their victim to a premature end, but could not check the skill and industry exhibited in the improved manufacture of silk at Derby. The external part of this mill continues, I believe, much in the same state in which it was originally erected, and certainly deserves a short visit. Finally, I will take permission to remind you of the connexion between Derbyshire and the wonder of the world at the present time—the Crystal Palace, in Hyde Park—a design conceived by the mind of Paxton, and executed by the hand of Fox.

How imposing is this Exhibition of the industry of all nations! How beautiful is this tilting ground on which we break not rival lances, but break down mutual prejudices! where the race is not to the swift, nor the battle

to the strong; but where the inventions of genius, and the display of talent, confer more permanent honours than the victor's laurel crown, or the plaudits of assembled multitudes. In conclusion, I would request you to draw with me a pleasing contrast between the past and the present: the stranger is now freely invited to survey those massive walls (more to be admired in their ruins than when perfect), from the gates of which he would once have been rudely repulsed by some stern sentinel, or within which, had he then lived, he might have pined away existence in hopeless captivity. The Christian layman may now indulge his taste in the contemplation of those vaulted aisles, those gracefully-turned arches, where once the use of his Bible was forbidden, and monkish legends usurped the place of truth. Surely, archæology, thus studied, will make him a better and a happier man! After such a contrast, will any lip withhold the tribute of thankfulness for our civil and religious freedom? Is there a heart so devoid of patriotism, as not to glow with gratitude to the Author of every good, for the personal and social privileges so bountifully conferred by Him upon this highly favoured nation?

ON THE LOCAL LAWS, COURTS, AND CUSTOMS OF DERBYSHIRE.

BY SIR FORTUNATUS DWARRIS, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

Like every other mining country, Derbyshire has its peculiar local laws. The mines and miners of Derbyshire are governed by certain ancient customs and regulations, which were ascertained by a jury, acting under a commission granted in the year 1287. The mining concerns are under the superintendence of a barmaster, who holds courts twice a year. At these courts are decided all questions respecting the duties payable to the crown or the lessee, all controversies relating to working the mines, and punishments inflicted for offences committed upon

mineral property. Debts incurred in working the mines are likewise cognizable in the bar-mote courts.

Lysons, in the *Magna Britannia* (p. cxcv), says:—"One of the most remarkable of the ancient mining customs of this county, is *that* by which any adventurer who shall discover a vein of lead unoccupied in the king's field, has a right to work it, *on the land of any person*, without making any compensation to the proprietor. It is the office of the barmaster, being applied to for that purpose, to put adventurers into possession of such veins by them discovered." Upon which passage it is first to be remarked, that this peculiar local law, which forms the broadest and most startling exception to the general laws of real property in this kingdom, does not appear to be stated by Lysons with sufficient precision. The custom alluded to is still in force, and extends *to all the liege people in the nation* who may enter upon any lands whatever, and dig and search for lead ore in all lands and places within the liberties. But it has this qualification, that in the Low Peak articles, dwelling-houses, highways, orchards, and gardens are excepted. "At the Great Court Barrmote, for the lead mines, held at Wirksworth, for the Soke and wapentake of Wirksworth, in the county of Derby, the tenth of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1666, the jury find as follows: We will and say, upon our oaths, that 'tis lawful for all the liege people of this nation to dig, delve, subvert, mine, and turn up all manner of grounds, lands, meadows, closes, &c., for lead ore within the said wapentake, of whose inheritance soever it is, dwelling-houses, highways, orchards, or gardens excepted." There is no such exception in the high Peak customs, but only this proviso in the articles. "But if any arable lands or meadows be digged up and not wrought according to the custom of the mine, the owner of the same may fill it again at his will and pleasure." The first discoverer of a mine is entitled to have assigned to him two meers of ground in the mine. A meer is a vein varying from twenty-seven to thirty-two yards in length. The miner put in possession of the land, may retain it for a short time by simple crosses and holes made in the ground, but the acquisition of a more permanent title must be effected by the erection of *stowses;* a wooden apparatus employed

in drawing the ore raised from the mines. In the lapse of time, bar-masters suffered the erection of "sham stowses" or diminutive pieces of wood fixed in the ground, by which fictitious stowses this custom was effectually infringed. (Sham stowses! how like the lawyer's "sham pleas!") By the maintenance of these flams, the right to the meer must still be preserved. If they are destroyed or not kept in repair, the meer of ground will be forfeited. So, if the mine should be unwrought for weeks together, the bar-master is required to nick or notch the spindle or boundary stick once a week for three weeks, and the mine, if unworked within that period, becomes forfeited. But it is further necessary to *free* the meer of ground; and freeing consists in delivering the first dish of ore to the lord, a ceremony equivalent to livery of seisin, without which no actual estate could be obtained. But as sham stowses, unaccompanied with even colourable operations, came to be permitted, so were dishes of ore presented without any very curious inquiry into the sources from which they were derived, and proprietors of lands acquired to themselves, by this dexterous management, the right to unoccupied mines in their lands, without contracting the necessity for actually working them. It is the custom within the manor of Creich "that the first finder of a vein shall go away with it, and not the first freer." Such are the local laws, and so are they evaded. I could point out the beautiful estate and the careful proprietor, who having veins of lead in his pleasure grounds, to prevent strangers (archæologists or others) from coming to get the ore, obtained possession of them by the stated means himself, and kept two or three miners always pretending to work them.

But in the case of adverse claims, what is to be done? The claimant is to *arrest* the mine. So, in default of payment of wages due to workmen, the workmen may arrest the ore raised. In cases of title, two verdicts are required to conclude the cause. In the high Peak, there may be *three* trials of an action. But the party losing the suit must arrest the mine again within a certain period after the holding of the court, or the first verdict will prevail.

According to Fuller (*Worthies*, p. 229), the ancient punishment for stealing ore, on the third conviction, was,

that the offender's hand should be stuck through with a knife, unto the haft, in the stowse, where it was to remain until the offender was released by death, unless he loosed himself by cutting off his hand. Now, like other felonies, it is punished by imprisonment or transportation.

The laws and customs of the mines vary in different manors, as well as the amount of tolls paid. It has been repeatedly observed that these laws stand in great need of revision, as inapplicable to the present state of mining. It has been decided that the customs of Derbyshire will not authorize the erection of fire engines for drawing water from the mines, against the consent of the proprietor of the land. That the engines, *being unknown till within a recent period*, could not be erected, and that the workmen were not justified, by custom, in living on the land. (*Gov. and Co., for smelting lead, Derby Assizes, 22nd March*, 1759).

The mining interests of this country are daily increasing in magnitude, and demand the establishment of well digested laws for their support. The whole jurisdiction and proceedings of the Stannary courts of Cornwall have recently undergone a complete revision by the legislature in 6 and 7 Will. 4, c. 106, 2 and 3 Vict., c. 58, s. 6; but the acts referred to have no application to the county of Devon. The customs of the forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, were in a grievous state of contradiction, complication, and embarrassment; for these evils, a remedy has been provided by a recent statute (1 and 2 Victoria, c. 43.) Whether the interests of Derbyshire, as a mining country, have been equally attended to, I am not aware, or indeed whether the evils be such as to require the interference of the legislature. One of the incidental advantages of these societies, and of their peripatetic discursions, is the directing attention to subjects of local as well as general interest; say, to such questions as the following: Would it not be desirable to substitute for a diversity of local customs a comprehensive, uniform, and systematic scheme of management, extending over the whole district? or, more largely and completely still; What should prevent the formation of a general mining code?

As antiquaries, we feel a lively interest in the ascertained fact, that the Derbyshire lead mines were assuredly worked

by the Romans, and probably by the Britons. When we find upon one of the well-known inscribed blocks or pigs of lead (discovered near Matlock, and on Cromford Moor, and now in the British Museum) that it is inscribed "*Socio Romæ*", to my partner at Rome, we conclude it to have been an article of trade. This view is confirmed when we discover that the pigs are ready worked up for sale, and stamped with the name of the reigning emperor. And if, as the learned and judicious antiquary, Mr. Pegge, conjectures, one of these pigs does actually bear so early a date as the emperor Claudius, that fact would go far to prove that the mines of the Peak were worked by the natives before the Roman invasion. Again, when we find, as we do, that Derbyshire was traversed in every direction by Roman roads, we see reason to believe that the trade in its metals early attracted the attention of an energetic people, who never suffered any natural advantages to be lost. But it is not only as antiquaries (whatever may be thought of us), that we regard such questions. We take a more extended and diversified view; we propose to ourselves and to you, more general inquiries. Aware that the mineral products of England exceed in value those of any of the continental states, we are anxious to learn whether they have received sufficient support and encouragement; whether they are governed by wise, practical rules, and possess courts to ascertain those rules with the requisite precision, and to afford a speedy and inexpensive settlement of mining questions. What is the result? It has been seen in Derbyshire how legal casuistry has explained away the poor man's right; how the extraordinary and almost ultra-liberal concessions made for the encouragement of the mining adventurer have been rendered nugatory, while persons who have acquired rights by fictitious means, and are unwilling or unable to carry on operations themselves, are able to prevent others from pursuing the course of their discoveries. It is difficult to conceive, in these days of steam miracles, the discouragement to mining speculation—the cold and petrifying tendency, the death-damp to adventure—of such judicial constructions, as before cited, which held that engines cannot be admitted within the custom, because they were till recently unknown. A doctrine which, if it prevail,

(which seems incredible) must frustrate all the designed encouragement to the investment of capital, in those mines which require the water to be drawn off by other and more expensive means than those in common use. Exclude the sublime discovery of Watt, because it has not existed from the time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary! How then admit railways and electric telegraphs?

May we not, if such remains the state of mining in Derbyshire (without the redress which Cornwall and Gloucestershire have received), venture to express a wish for more adequate protection of such important interests, by laws better adapted to the greater outlay and extended operations of the present day? Not that any censure is intended to be cast upon the land-owners of Derbyshire, but only to arrive at the conclusion, that laws must be accommodated, or laws will accommodate themselves, to the growing demands and necessities of mankind. Whenever laws are found to be habitually violated or evaded, without exciting moral reprobation, it is quite clear that such laws require to be altered.

Another question we are almost afraid to ask is, whether our adventurers in this country have duly availed themselves of the resources of geological and chemical science? Where no facilities are afforded, how could they? For where have been the mining schools in which they can have been taught? The art and mystery of mining have been left to the traditional knowledge of the unassisted miner, with the most slender mechanical means alone available. It is a different case in Spain and in parts of Germany, where the royal right extends to all mines, and is not, as with our crown, confined to mines of gold and silver. France, Spain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Saxony, Sweden, and Denmark, have respectively provided students with the means of becoming scientifically and practically acquainted with the details of mining and metallurgical operations. It is important, and may be useful to be known, that there is at last a proposed school of mines to be opened in this country, at the museum in Jermyn Street, London, where with the officers of the geological survey, under Sir H. de la Beche, it can be practically studied.

The only courts hitherto mentioned, are the great Barr-

mote courts of the manors, held generally twice a year, in which mining differences are decided before a jury of twelve persons. In the manor of Crich, the steward decides all cases, without a jury.

The next local court of Derbyshire, was, till lately, *Her Majesty's court of record for the honour of Peverel*, but this court was finally abolished by the Small Debts Amendment Act, 12 and 13 Victoria, cap. 101. Mrs. Hutchinson, in the memoirs of her husband, speaks of this as an obsolete court, lately revived, in the reign of Charles I. It was held at Basford, in Nottinghamshire, and its jurisdiction extended over Scarsdale, the Peak, and the wapentake of Wirksworth. Indeed, under the grant to Lord Middleton, the jurisdiction was extended to many places in Derbyshire, which never formed a part of the house of Peverel.

William Peverel, a natural son of William the conqueror, had large possessions in Derbyshire, by his father's gift. He built the castle of the Peak, and either he, or his son (called by the common people king Peverel), built Bolsover castle. William Peverel, the younger, forfeited his estates for poisoning Ralph, earl of Chester, in 1153, in which crime, Matthew Paris says, many others were implicated. Gervase gives a further account of the disinheriting of Peverel. He says, that conscious of guilt, and dreading the magnanimity (say justice), of the new king, he took the tonsure and became a monk; but afterwards, on the king's approach to Nottingham, to which the new religious had retired, he took the alarm and fled the realm. The De Ferrers family obtained great part of Peverel's possessions. But in the year 1266, Robert de Ferrers, earl of Derby, appeared in arms against king Henry III, and with Baldwin Wake, lord of Chesterfield, John D'Egville, and other barons and knights, assembled a numerous force and marched to Chesterfield. Here they were surprised in their quarters by Henry, the king's nephew, and the greater part of them put to the sword. The earl of Derby was taken prisoner, having been betrayed by a woman, who pointed out the place of his concealment in the church. De Ferrers had his life spared, from some respect, perhaps, for the violated right or claim of sanctuary. Wake, D'Egville, and the other barons and knights, made

their escape. Some of the knights, with their adherents, withdrew into the forest of the Peak, where they continued for two whole years leading a predatory life. Imagination may picture them (connected with many dreamy superstitions, and not unrecorded in legendary lore), appearing and disappearing in the fastnesses of this wild country, their horses' hoofs clattering through the peaceful village in the stillness of the night,—now seen scaling the hills,—now scouring the vales,—exacting their black mail and intercepting the caravans of travelling merchants;—in short, making excursions of a very different nature from those of the peaceful archæologist traversing the self-same district.

The king's forest of the Peak (the *locus in quo*), was of great extent. That, in ancient times, it was much infested with wolves is very evident. A family, of the hereditary name of Wolfhunt, held lands by the service of keeping the forest clear of those destructive animals. In 1634 there were fifty-four deer parks in Derbyshire.

The large possessions of the earldom of Derby, of which De Ferrers was divested, were given to Edmund, duke of Lancaster, and eventually formed a considerable part of the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster. At the Domesday survey, Henry de Ferrers held forty-nine manors in demesne, and forty-one were held under him. The duke of Devonshire is lessee under the crown of the greater part of the ancient Ferrers estate, which was at that time annexed to the duchy of Lancaster. This rapid sketch will account for the extensive possessions of the duchy of Lancaster in Derbyshire, and for the last remaining local court as yet unnoticed: viz., *the court of the duchy of Lancaster.*

I shall not detain you with fulsome adulation of any head, past or present, of the distinguished house before referred to. *Quis vituperavit?* They need no panegyric in Derbyshire! But there *is* an intellectual charm, to men of scientific and literary pursuits, in the name of Henry Cavendish, of that most distinguished cultivator of experimental science, that most patient investigator, the discoverer of the constituent elements of water. It will be remembered too with interest, by philosophers and men of science, that Chatsworth was the frequent residence and ultimate retreat of Thomas Hobbes.

From the unfavourable manner in which the woman, who betrayed the earl of Derby in his concealment in the church, is always mentioned in local history, it is surprising that her name has not been preserved to infamy. An entry as to another woman, occurring in the registry of the parish church of Overton, is more explicit. "Dorothy Matby, supposed wife to John Kent, forswore herself, whereupon the ground opened and she sunk overhead; and being found dead, she was buried March 25th, 1660.

I am gratified to find that the quaint old local historian, Philip Kinder, speaks vastly more favourably of the fair sex in Derbyshire in general. "The countrywomen here," he says, "are chaste, and sober, and very diligent in their housewifery: they hate idleness, and obey their husbands. Only in some of the great towns, many seeming sanctificators use to follow presbyterian preachers, upon a lecture day, put on their best raiment, and hereby take occasion to go a-gossiping." Among female worthies, first and foremost in county annals must ever stand distinguished the brave Ethelfleda, countess of Mercia, daughter of our renowned king Alfred, who recovered Derbyshire from the Danes. The Danish army, which was quartered at Derby, not venturing to come out and oppose her in the field, she intrepidly attacked the castle, and after a severe struggle, in which four of her bravest and most favourite generals were killed at the entrance, broke down the gate and walls, and took it by storm.

The celebrated Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, otherwise called Bess of Hardwicke, lies buried among the Cavendish monuments at All Saints, Derby. Her epitaph records her four marriages, and her erection of the three noble mansions of Chatsworth, Hardwicke, and Oldcotes. "A woman", says Lodge, "of a masculine understanding and conduct, proud, fierce, selfish, and unfeeling. She was a builder, buyer, and seller of estates, a money lender, a farmer, and a merchant. She intrigued alternately with Elizabeth and Mary, always to the prejudice and terror of her husband. She lived to a great old age, and died immensely rich, without a friend." The disputes between the countess and her husband proceeded to an open rupture towards the latter part of his life. The bishop of Lichfield and Coventry laboured to

bring about a reconciliation, "Some will say", he observed, "that the lady is a sharp and bitter shrew; but if shrewdness or sharpness may be a just cause of separation between a man and his wife, I think few men in England can keep their wives long. For it is a common jest, yet true in some sense, that there is but one shrew in all the world, and every man hath *her;* so that every man might be rid of his wife." He was a hen-pecked husband (I'd be sworn), if he had a wife of his own, that prating bishop!

The duchess of Newcastle, an accomplished, affectionate, and devoted wife, became the chronicler of the adventures of her husband, the distinguished royalist, who, after the restoration, retired from public life, to amuse himself with the breed and management of horses at Bolsover. Her life of her husband still adorns our library shelves, while her grace's other printed works, ten folio volumes of musty philosophy, and three more left in manuscript, are gone to the Limbo of Vanity with all other forgotten things; the humility of priests, the pride of nobles, home-keeping tastes, and lawyers' fees!

One old custom of Derbyshire, mentioned by Kinder, remains unnoticed; and to the student of manners, the sports and amusement of a people can never be indifferent. "Foot-races", he says, "of naked boys, an oulde recreation of the Greeks, is the chiefest of their exercises here. You shall have, in a winter's day, the earth crusted with ice, two agonists (antagonists), stark naked, run a foot-race for two or three miles, with many hundred spectators." "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in our philosophy."

ON ANCIENT CUSTOMS AND SPORTS OF THE COUNTY OF DERBY.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, ESQ.

When I had the pleasure of preparing a paper for the Chester congress on the ancient customs and sports of that county, I expressed a hope that a more extended interest might be felt in the remains of the habits and customs, the

superstitions and recreative sports of our forefathers; and that we might thus, by the more extended notices of the observances of different districts which we should receive, be enabled to clear up many points of historical doubt, and to supply much valuable and interesting information illustrative of mediæval literature and the early domestic habits of those ages which have preceded us. Many communications since then have appeared in our own *Journal*, and in other publications, relating to ancient customs observed in various parts of the kingdom, and it is in the hope of adding still farther to the general stock, that I have prepared the following notes of some of the more curious ones remaining in this county, which have come under my own notice, and which in many respects differ from those of other localities.

Derbyshire appears to have been particularly rich in remains of ancient customs, and the inhabitants seem formerly to have clung with peculiar tenacity to whatever habits, sports, superstitions and legends had been handed down to them; many of these have now, however, fallen into desuetude, or are only observed in a modified form, and will soon be altogether lost. In speaking of the general habits of the inhabitants, Philip Kinder, who wrote about two hundred years ago, says:

"The common sort of people, of Derbyshire, out of a genuine reverence, not forced by feare or institution, doe observe those of larger fortunes, courteous and readie to show the waies and help a passenger: you may say they are lazy and idle in a better sense, for (except the grooves) they have not whereon to set themselves to work, for all theire harvest and sede tyme is finished in six weeks; the rest of their tyme they spend in fothering their cattle, mending their stone enclosures, and in sports. The country women here are chaste and sober, very diligent in their huswifery; they *hate* idleness, love and obey their husbands, only in some of the great townes many seeming sanctificators use to follow the Presbyterian gang, and upon a lecture day put on their best rayment, and doo hereby take occasion to goo a gossiping. Your merry wives of Bentley *will* sometimes look in y^e^ glass, chirpe a cupp merrily, yet not indecently. In the Peak they are much given to dance after the bagpipes, —almost every towne hath a baggpipe in it.

"Their exercise for the greate part, is the Gymnopaidia,[1] or naked

[1] The gymnopaidia, or naked boy race, is still a sport in some parts of the Peak, and until the last few years was also a favourite diversion in Derby, on the feast of St. James.

boy, an ould recreation among the Grecks; with this, in foote races, you shall have in a winter's day, the earth all crusted over with ice, two antagonists, stark naked, runn a foote-race for two or three miles, with many hundred spectators, and the betts very small.

"They love their cards. The miners at Christmas tyme will carry tenn or twenty pounds about them, game freely, returne home again, all the year after good husbands.

"For diet, the gentrie, after the southern mode, have two state meales a day, with a bitt in y^e^ buttery to a morning draught;—but yowr peasants exceed the Greeks, who had four meales a day,—for the moorlanders add three more;—y^e^ *bitt* in y^e^ morning;—y^e^ *anders* meate,—and y^e^ *yenders* meate, and soe make upp seaven, and for certaine y^e^ greate housekeeper doth allow his people, especially in summer time, so many commessations.

"The common inhabitants doe prefer oates for delight and strength, above any other graine; for here you may find *jus nigrum*, the Lacedæmonian pottage, to bee a good dish, if you bring a Lacedæmonian stomach. It is observed that they have for the most part fair long broad teeth, which is caused by the mastication of their oat bread."

From the preceding long and quaint description, we may naturally infer that one of the most universal customs in the county was that of good eating and drinking, and I believe that this is one of the *few* ancient customs which has been handed down from generation to generation unimpaired.

On new year's eve, a cold possett, as it is called, made of milk, ale, eggs, currants, and spice, is prepared, and in it is placed the wedding-ring of the hostess; each of the party takes out a ladle full, and in doing so takes every precaution to fish up the ring, as it is believed that whoever is fortunate enough to "catch" the ring will be married before the year is out. On the same night it is customary in some districts to throw open all the doors of the house just before midnight, and to wait for the coming year, as for an honoured guest, by meeting him as he approaches, and crying "Welcome".

The morris dancers who go about from village to village about the twelfth day, have their fool, their maid Marian (here generally a man dressed in women's clothes, and called the fool's wife), and sometimes the hobby-horse; they are dressed up in ribbands and tinsel, but the bells are usually discarded. On Plough Monday, the "Plough-

bullocks" are still occasionally seen; they consist of a number of young men from various farm-houses, who are dressed up in ribbands, their shirts (for they wear no coats or waistcoats) literally covered with rosettes of various colours, and their hats bound round with ribbands, and decorated with every kind of ornament that comes in their way; these young men yoke themselves to a plough, which they draw about, preceded by a band of music, from house to house, collecting money; they are accompanied by the fool and Bessy; the fool being dressed in the skin of a calf, with the tail hanging down behind, and Bessy, generally a young man in female attire, covered with a profusion of ribbands and other meretricious finery. The fool carries an inflated bladder tied to the end of a long stick, by way of whip, and which he does not fail to apply pretty soundly to the heads and shoulders of his team; to these personages are usually added two or more drivers, armed with similar bladders, and a ploughman with attendants. When anything is given, a cry of largess is raised, and a dance performed around the plough; but if a refusal to their application for money is made, they not unfrequently plough up the pathway, door stone, or any other portion of the premises they happen to be near.

On Valentine's day, the customs are similar to those observed in other counties; and it is a belief, that the first of the opposite sex seen on that morning is the observer's Valentine, and will ultimately be united to her. Thus Gay says:—

> "Thee first I spied, and the first swain we see,
> In spite of fortune, shall our true love be."

The young women pin bay leaves to their pillows on Valentine's eve, in order to ensure their dreaming of their lovers; and many are their sly contrivances to insure the success of their divinations in water and sand. As the maid in the *Connoisseur* expresses herself,

> "We wrote our lovers' names on bits of paper and rolled them up in clay, and put them into water, and the first that rose up was to be our valentine.—Would you think it?—Mr. Blossom was my man—I lay a-bed and shut my eyes all the morning till he came to our house; for I would not have seen another man before him for all the world."

The ancient sports of bull-baiting, cock fighting, and

throwing at cocks are now happily obsolete in this county; but there are other Shrove-tide customs which still prevail. The pancake bell is still rung in many villages, and the pancakes themselves are eaten with as much relish now as they were in former times. One of the most remarkable sports of this day is that of foot-ball. The game is still general throughout the county, but the Derby foot-ball differed materially from that played in other places. A writer in 1835 says:—

"The inhabitants of Derby are born foot-ball players, the game seems interwoven with their existence, they have imbibed it with their first food, and it animates them through their lives. Enthusiasm is but a cold word for their attachment to it,—on Shrove Tuesday it is a passion irresistible, which bears down before it every obstacle, and defies the law, the police, and the magistrates. Nor is it confined to the lower classes alone, the gentry, the respectable tradesmen, have all in some part of their lives been foot-ball players and they encourage it now by their subscriptions and by their presence."

The game, which is now happily discontinued, was a contest between the parishes of All Saints and St. Peter's; the conflicting parties being strengthened by volunteers from the other parishes, and from the surrounding country. The bells of the different churches rang their merry peals in the morning, and gave rise to the following jingle on the five parishes of All Saints', St. Peter's, St. Werburgh's, St. Alkmund's, and St. Michael's.

"Pancakes and fritters,
Say All Saints' and St. Peter's;
When will the *ball* come,
Say the bells of St. Alkmun;
At *two* they will throw,
Says Saint Werabo';
O! very well,
Says little Michel."

The *goal* of All Saints' was the water-wheel of the nun's mill, and that of St Peter's, on the opposite side of the town, at the gallow's balk, on the Normanton road; the ball, which was of a very large size, was made of leather, and stuffed quite hard with shavings, and about noon was thrown into the market-place, from the Town hall, into the midst of an assembly of many thousand people, so

closely wedged together, as scarcely to admit of locomotion. The moment the ball was thrown, the "war cries" of the rival parishes began, and thousands of arms were uplifted in the hope of catching it during its descent. The opposing parties endeavoured by every possible means, and by the exertion of their utmost strength, to carry the ball in the direction of their respective goals, and by this means the town was traversed and retraversed many times in the course of the day; indeed to such an extent has the contest been carried, that some years ago the fortunate holder of the ball, having made his way into the river Derwent, was followed by the whole body, who took to the water in the most gallant style, and kept up the chase to near the village of Duffield, a distance of five miles, the whole course being against the rapid stream, and one or two weirs having to be passed; on another occasion, the possessor of the ball is said to have quietly dropped himself into the culvert or sewer which passes under the town, and to have been followed by several others of both parties, and after fighting his way the whole distance under the town, to have come out victorious at the other side, where a considerable party having collected, the contest was renewed in the river.

On the conclusion of the day's sport, the man who had the honour of "goaling" the ball was the champion of the year; the bells of the victorious parish announced the conquest, and the victor was chaired through the town.

So universal has been the feeling with regard to this game, that it is said a gentleman from Derby having met with a person in the backwoods of America, whom, from his style of conversation, he suspected to be from the midland counties of England, cried out when he saw him, *All Saints' for ever;* to this the stranger instantly retorted, *Peter's for ever;* and this satisfied them that they were fellow-townsmen. The foot-ball is also played at Ashborne nearly in the same manner as at Derby.

On Palm Sunday the boys go out into the fields and gather the branches of the willow, which are vulgarly called palms; these are carried about during the day, and in some churches it is customary to use them for decoration.

On Easter Sunday the old custom of sugar-cupping at the dripping torr, near Tideswell, is observed; when the

young people assemble at the torr, each provided with a cup and a small quantity of sugar or honey, and having caught the required quantity of water, and mixed the sugar with it, drink it, and repeat a doggerel verse. In some parts of the county, a tansy pudding is eaten on this day; and it is a general belief, that unless a person puts on some new article of dress he will be injured by the birds, and have no good fortune that year. Pasch eggs are still to be seen beautifully ornamented, hanging in festoons over the chimney-piece, or put by carefully in corner cupboards of cottages, and they are religiously preserved, and handed down as heir-looms.

On Easter Monday, the custom of lifting still obtains in some of the northern parts of the county; on this day the men lift the women, and the day following the women return the compliment. For this purpose, a chair, gaily decorated with ribbands, is carried from house to house by a number of young women, gaily dressed up for the occasion, and having caught some luckless fellow and placed him in the chair, they lift him above their heads three times. On being released from the chair, he receives a kiss from each of the women engaged in the ceremony, and in return presents them with some money.

One of the prettiest customs of the county is that of Well Dressing on Holy Thursday, or Ascension day, at Tissington, near Dovedale. In the village are five springs or wells, and these are decorated with flowers, arranged in the most beautiful devices. Boards are cut into arches, pediments, pinnacles, and other ornamental forms, and are covered with moist clay, to the thickness of about half an inch; the flowers are cut off their stems and impressed into the clay as closely together as possible, forming mottoes, borders, and other devices; these are then placed over the wells, and it is impossible to conceive a more beautiful appearance than they present; the water gurgling from beneath them, and overhung by the fine foliage of the numerous evergreens and forest trees by which they are surrounded. There is one particular variety of double daisy, known to gardeners as the Tissington daisy, which appears almost peculiar to the place, and is in much repute for forming the letters of the texts and mottoes, with which the wells are adorned. The day is observed as a complete holiday,

and the festival attracts a considerable number of visitors from all the neighbouring towns and villages. Divine service is performed in the church, and on its conclusion, the minister and congregation join in procession, and visit each well in succession. A portion of Scripture is read at each, and a psalm or appropriate hymn is sung. The whole of the wells having been thus visited, and a prayer offered up, the company separate, and from the absence of public houses in the village, spend the rest of the day in temperate enjoyment.

May poles are to be seen in some of the village greens, still standing, and still adorned with garlands on May day. On this morning too the young village women go out about sun rise for the purpose of washing their faces in the May dew, and return in the full hope of having their complexions improved by the process.

On the 29th of May, branches of young oak are gathered and put up over the doors of many houses, and a small sprig of the same tree is commonly worn in the button-hole.

Derby having for many centuries been celebrated for its ale, which Camden says was made here in such perfection, that wine must be very good to deserve a preference; and Fuller remarks, "never was the wine of Falernum better known to the Romans than the canary of Derby is to the English": it is not a matter of surprise to find some remnants of the Whitsun ales in the neighbourhood. In a manuscript in the Bodleian Library is a record of the Whitsun ales at Elvaston and Ockbrook, from which it appears that they were formerly required to brew four ales of a quarter of malt each. Every inhabitant of Ockbrook was obliged to be present at each ale; every husband and his wife to pay two-pence, and every cottager one penny; the inhabitants of Elvaston, Thurlaston, and Ambaston, to receive all the profits and advantages arising from the ales to the use and behoof of the church of Elvaston. The inhabitants of Elvaston, Thurlaston, and Ambaston, to brew eight ales, each inhabitant to be present as before, or to send their money.

The Christmas festivities are well observed in Derbyshire; mummers or guisors go from house to house and perform a play of St. George. They are dressed up in

character, and decorated with ribbands, tinsel, and other finery, and on being admitted into the house commence their performance by St. George announcing himself by beginning his oration:

"I am St. George, the noble champion bold,
And with my glittering sword
I've won three crowns of gold.—
It 's I who fought the fiery dragon,
And brought it to the slaughter,
And so I won fair Sabra,
The king of Egypt's daughter:
—Seven have I won but married none,
And bear my glory all alone.
—With *my* sword in my hand
Who dare against me stand?
I swear I'll cut him down
With my victorious brand."

A champion is soon found in the person of Slasher, who accepts the challenge. St. George then replies in a neat speech, when they sing, shake hands, and fight with their wooden swords, and Slasher is slain. The king then enters, saying, "I am the king of England, the greatest man alive",—and after walking round the dead body, calls for "Sir Guy, one of the chiefest men in the world's wonder", who shows his wonderful courage and prowess in calling for a doctor. The doctor on making his appearance gives a long and quaint account of his birth, parentage, education, and travels, whilst perambulating around the fallen Slasher, and ends his oration by saying—

"Here take a little out of my bottle
And put it down thy throttle."

The dead man is thus cured, and having received the advice of "rise, Jack, and fight again", the play is ended.

This remnant of the ancient plays and mysteries of our forefathers is very general in the villages of Derbyshire and the adjacent counties, and with but little variation in the words of the play.

At Christmas there are few districts where a more abundant display of festivity is made than in Derbyshire; the houses are all profusely decorated with evergreens—the yule 'clog' is burnt—the large mould candles are lighted—and the posset and furmety prepared.

In some parts of the county the village choir meet in the church on Christmas-eve and there wait until midnight, when they proceed from house to house, invariably accompanied by a small keg of ale, singing "Christians, awake"; and during the Christmas season they again visit the principal houses in the place, and having played and sung for the evening, and partaken of the Christmas cheer, are presented with a sum of money.

Rush-bearing was formerly a general custom in the Peak, and is still observed in some localities. At Glossop, a cart or waggon was decorated with rushes in a tasty and elegant manner; a pyramid of rushes, ornamented with festoons of flowers and surmounted by a garland, was usually placed in the car, and surrounded by flags, ribbands, and garlands. The car was then drawn through the village, preceded by groups of dancers and a band of music, to the church, when the rushes and flowers were strewed over the floor and in the pews, and the garlands hung up near the chancel. At Whitwell, a nearly similar custom was observed, when the hay from a church field is mown and spread in the church on Midsummer eve.

At Baslow, the festival of kit-dressing is occasionally observed: the kits, or milk pails, are fancifully and tastefully decorated with ribbands, and hung with festoons of flowers and ornaments of muslin and silk, and with gold and silver thread. The kits are carried on the heads of the young women of the village, who, attended by the young men, and preceded by a band of music, parade the streets, and end the day's proceedings by a dance.

Garlands were formerly carried to the grave with the corpse of an unmarried female, and afterwards hung up in the church in memory of the departed; several of these memorials are still to be seen; white gloves were frequently suspended with the garland.

At Duffield, a curious remnant of the right of hunting wild animals in the forest there is still observed—this is called the "squirrel hunt". The young men of the village assemble together on the wakes Monday, each provided with a horn, a pan, or something capable of making a noise, and proceed to Keddleston Park, where with shouting and the discordant noise of the instruments, they frighten the poor little squirrels until they drop from the

trees. Several having been thus captured, the hunters return to Duffield, and having released the squirrels amongst some trees, re-commence the hunt. At the same place, the right of collecting wood in the forest is singularly observed,—for the young men in considerable numbers collect together, and having taken possession of any cart they can find, yoke themselves to it, and preceded by horns, remove any trees or other wood from the various lanes and hedge-rows; this is done almost nightly between September and the wakes, in the first week in November, when a huge bonfire is made of the wood collected, on the wakes Monday.

Many other interesting customs are still observed in this county, and the charms, the superstitions, and the beliefs in supernatural agencies, are many of them very curious. Ghosts, bargasts, and other apparitions, still start up in unfrequented places, to the great discomfiture and terror of the luckless traveller, sometimes in form of a beautiful lady in white, seated on a charger of the same colour, who rushing madly down the valley of the Derwent, plunges wildly into the stream, and is seen no more that night; sometimes in the shape of a "brown man" with a hideous countenance, who waylays those whose pleasure has kept them out at unseasonable hours; and sometimes in the shape of the father of evil.

Divinations by water, salt, and other substances, are still practised, and doggerel verses repeated to raise the spirit of the future husband. Of the latter, there is a curious instance at Ashborne, where a young woman who wishes to divine who her future husband is to be, goes into the church-yard at midnight, and as the clock strikes twelve, commences running round the church, repeating, without intermission—

> "I sow hemp seed, hemp seed I sow,
> He that loves me best
> Come after me and mow"—

having thus performed the circuit of the church twelve times without stopping, the figure of her lover is supposed to appear and follow her.

Of the other customs of the county, time will not permit me now to give a notice. I trust, however, that the few remarks I have made will call attention to the sub-

ject, and that our friends in this locality will from time to time send up notices of such customs as may come under their observation.

The customs of various districts differ very widely from each other; and although upon collection and comparison many of them may be traced to one common origin, yet the modes of their observance in different localities vary so considerably, as to be of the highest importance in illustrating the literature and habits of the middle ages. It is but by this collection, arrangement, and comparison, that we are enabled to trace each to its proper origin, and thus to supply the places of some of the connecting links of history which time has rusted and nearly destroyed.

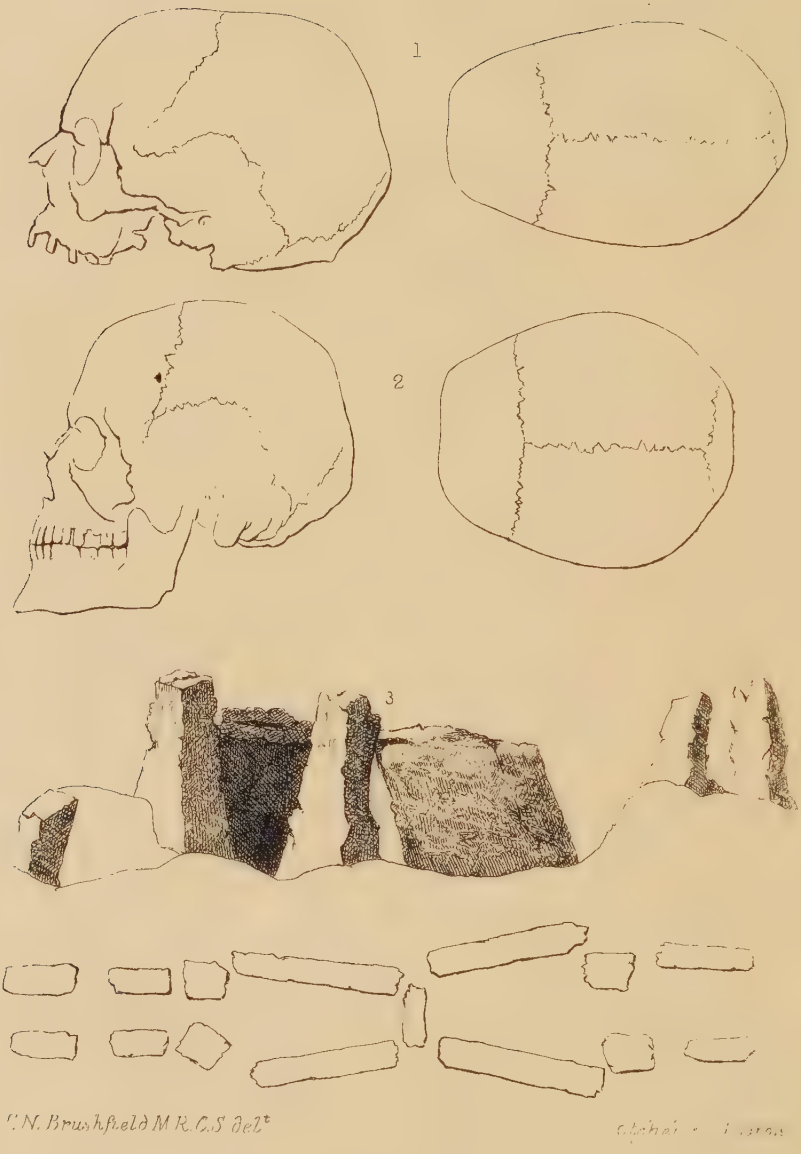
REMARKS

UPON A FEW OF THE BARROWS OPENED AT VARIOUS TIMES IN THE MORE HILLY DISTRICTS NEAR BAKEWELL.

BY THOMAS BATEMAN, ESQ.

In drawing attention to the result of the examination of one or two of the barrows in this neighbourhood, I shall endeavour to avoid the error of merely giving an uninteresting recapitulation of bare facts from my journal, by endeavouring to select such accounts as may be made useful to the ethnologist, from their containing the most evident indications of the habits of races which existed in our country in periods of the most remote and uncertain antiquity. In order more fully to explain the meaning here intended, it may be proper to observe that quite recently ethnological science has been called in to contribute to the elucidation of matters hitherto considered as pertaining solely to archæology, and that from this union of the two, discoveries may ultimately be expected, which will cast most unexpected light upon the early and pre-historic portion of the times occupied in the colonization of the western hemisphere, and more particularly of

PLATE XVIII



C. N. Brushfield M.R.C.S. del.t

PLATE XIX

3

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2

western Europe. At present, one of the most satisfactorily ascertained facts seems to be the existence of at least two strongly marked varieties of the human family in these parts, long previous to the times in which the Celtic migrations to the west took place, which have hitherto been considered as the *ne plus ultra* of our inquiries. At length, however, the growing attention paid to the remains of the individuals who have been interred in these grave hills, has enabled us to decide, without much danger of successful contradiction, that the first of these two unknown races is to be uniformly distinguished by an elongated and boat-shaped cranium (see plate XVIII, fig. 1); that the bones of the body and limbs do not indicate the stature to have been tall, but on the contrary rather low, but at the same time the bones bear traces of having belonged to individuals of great muscular development. The second variety (fig. 2) presents features quite opposed to these; the skull being generally peculiarly short from front to back, with projecting or swelling sides, whilst the other bones frequently shew that the persons were rather tall as well as strong. It is the opinion of Mr. Wilson, of Edinburgh, that both these forms differ from the ascertained type of the Celtic cranium, and certainly nothing can well be more unlike than the skulls are from each other, and this difference is plainly to be observed in those even which approach most nearly to an intermediate shape.

While allowing the hazard of any attempt to generalize from data which are necessarily somewhat limited and imperfect, I am still induced to claim some degree of consideration for these observations which are of a classifying tendency, from their being the fruit of nine years' close examination of tumuli of many kinds, and a careful comparison of between one and two hundred crania derived from them. If we except a class of mounds of large size, which are composed entirely of earth, and which never yield anything more satisfactory than a few calcined bones, we shall probably be correct in assigning to the most remote antiquity such barrows as are found to contain chambers and galleries formed of immense stones; about six of which I have at various times had the opportunity of opening, though none were entirely undisturbed, and most had suffered much dilapidation. But although the

mounds of this character have not been numerous, the interments within the chambers they contain have been many, and apparently continued over some length of time. In these the boat-shaped skull has uniformly been found by me, rarely accompanied by any instrument, but in one or two cases with arrow-points of flint.

If the opinion of some be adopted, that the sepulchral chambers were suggested by the habitations of the living, we shall have no difficulty in supposing that these are the remains of persons who dwelt in caves or other subterraneous habitations, as the Troglodytes, described by Strabo; they certainly were able to subdue some of the larger quadrupeds, as many fragments of the bones of animals of considerable size have been noticed amongst the contents of these chambers. In one instance only, as far as I can at present recollect, have I observed any trace of pottery, and that was of the rudest description. The following may be taken as an example of the discoveries made in this kind of tumulus.

In June 1849, a large barrow near Wetton, about ninety yards in circumference, which had been much injured by the operations of lead miners, was examined. It was mostly composed of flat stones, many of which were large, and set on end, inclining towards each other at the top, by which mode of construction many vacancies were occasioned; near the surface, and at the verge of the barrow, the stones were much smaller, and the interstices were filled with gravel and earth. After the expenditure of considerable labour, we had the satisfaction of meeting with a large stone cist or chamber,—the first portion of which that attracted our attention consisted of two large oblong stones lying parallel with each other in an inclined direction; these, from the appearance of their contiguous surfaces, had evidently at first been one slab of stone, that had been cleft; they were each seven feet long and near five feet broad. At the foot of these there appeared the end of a large stone measuring six feet eight inches in length, four feet in width, and seven inches in thickness, which afterwards proved to be one side of the sepulchral chamber, the other side being formed of another stone of the same length, but a foot less in width, though exceeding it in thickness, being nearly a foot thick. The stone

forming the end of the cist slanted inwards, having probably been disturbed or given way; it was five feet broad by six feet long, thus rendering the chamber, as it was originally constructed, six feet long, five feet wide, and between three and four feet deep; above which there was about a yard of artificial mound, making the total depth from the present elevation of the barrow to the floor of the chamber about seven feet, though there is no doubt of its having been much more prior to the barrow having been mutilated by the miners. Excepting at a little vacancy at the end first discovered, where human remains were seen scattered among the stones, the vault was filled in at the upper part with earth and stones, in the lower with stones only, which being removed, exposed a regularly paved floor, covered from end to end with human bones, which lying altogether in the primitive contracted position, presented a confused mass of the relics of mortality. Two skulls lay together close up to one of the sides; some of the skeletons crossed each other; beneath one remarkable skull which lay in the middle, were the leg bones of one individual and the arms of another. One of the skeletons was situated rather higher, being amongst the stones with which the lower part of the chamber was filled. Three neat arrow-points of flint, and many chippings of the same, which appeared to have undergone the action of fire; also, bones of the ox, hog, deer, and animals of the canine race, accompanied the human remains; which latter, as well as we could ascertain, represent at least thirteen individuals, ranging from infancy to old age, and comprising several females.

Although not more than a third of the crania were recovered in a perfect state, yet in each instance the same extraordinary elongation was most apparent; as it is also in skulls from the following chambered cairns, described in a former part of my printed journal, namely, Bull Hill, on Bakewell Moor; Stoney Low, on Brassington Moor; and some others of a similar character.

The remains of chambered tumuli near Monyash, Taddington (plate XVIII, fig. 3), and at Minninglow, may be cited as fine examples of this class of sepulchre; they are all of great size, and though much mutilated, are highly interesting, and well worth the trouble of a visit from archæologists who have leisure.

The next description of barrow to which I shall direct attention, is of much more frequent occurrence upon our Derbyshire hills than the preceding. They may be distinguished principally by being of less size, and covering a cist made to contain one or two bodies only; where more than one has been interred, the second is frequently burnt, and where there is reason to conclude the principal interment to have been a female, I hardy ever failed to find the bones of an infant accompanying it, and this has been the case in a great many instances; these facts, however, are left for further elucidation, as I merely wish at this time to bring forward evidence bearing upon the question of race. The crania obtained from these barrows are generally of the short round form with full or swelling sides, although it is possible in some few to detect a little variation; they are, however, as before observed, sufficiently distinct from the former kind; and I may just mention, that they are quite different from such as there is reason to attribute to Celts of the Romano-British period. The other bones indicate a tall and well-grown population, and the variety of articles discovered with them seems to point out a higher degree of inventive faculty in the mind, although we observe only the slightest traces of metal in a few of the tumuli of this period.

The use of metal, as applied to weapons, appears to have been unknown, as I have only observed a few small awls of bronze, and in one case a thin bit of that metal, which had been bent round the edge of the ear as an ornament. It hence appears that we may safely place these barrows towards the close of the stone period, when the instruments of flint, stone, and bone, now arrived at great perfection, were about to be superseded by the bronze dagger and celt of the most archaic type. But perhaps the most marked peculiarity exists in the pottery of this age, which is decorated with a degree of ingenuity and taste to which the earlier races appear to have been strangers. The tall and thin vessels, known as drinking cups, are here alluded to, in which the variety of patterns, formed by combinations of straight and angular lines, is surprising; but, strange to say, no imitation of any natural object, such as plants or animals, or of the human countenance, has ever been discovered upon any of their articles. This is a physio-

logical phenomenon of the most unaccountable kind, as we continually find such representations upon many of the articles manufactured by people who might be considered to be placed, or to exist in circumstances analogous to the influences that surrounded these ancient savages. To prove this, it will be sufficient to indicate the mound builders of North America, the New Zealanders, etc. The following notices of the investigation of the resting-places of a male and female at this period may be sufficient to explain the nature of these tumuli.

About the middle of the summer of 1848, a barrow upon the borders of Staffordshire was opened, which consisted of a mound of earth and pebbles, fourteen yards across, and two feet high, covering a cist placed at its centre, which was composed of three large flat stones, one end being left open, and having the floor paved with thin slabs of blue limestone. Within this cist was a large skeleton, near the head of which was placed a peculiarly elegant and highly ornamented drinking cup, eight and a quarter inches high, inside of which were two modelling tools made from the ribs of some animal, two beautifully chipped barbed arrows, and a spear-head of white flint; outside the vase, two more similar arrow-heads were found. In other parts of the mound, numerous pieces of human bone, stag's horn, etc., were found, also a neat circular-ended flint. As far as the cutting extended, which might be five yards, it exposed a row of large boulders, of hard red grit, laid on the surface of the ground on which the tumulus was raised, the smaller stones which lay near these were almost converted into lime, and were mixed with charcoal and calcined bones. The head and bones of this skeleton were of remarkable size.

The second barrow which I shall here describe, was opened near Middleton, near Yolgrave, in March 1848; it was of very small size indeed, both as to diameter and height, but was perhaps much reduced, being situated in a field that had been regularly cultivated for a considerable time. But, fortunately, the contents, with the exception of one skeleton, which lay near the top, had been placed in a small enclosure of stone, sunk a few inches beneath the natural surface. The primary interment consisted of the skeleton of a female in the prime of life, and that of a

child, apparently of about four years of age. She had been placed upon the floor of the grave, on her left side, with the knees contracted; her child was placed above her, and rather behind her shoulders; they were both surrounded and covered with rat's bones innumerable, and near the female lay a cow's tooth, an article almost invariably found with the more ancient interments. Round the neck of the adult skeleton was a necklace of variously shaped beads and ornaments of Kimmeridge coal and bone; upon the whole, something like those found at Cow Low, in 1846, and described in a former communication (see *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 234). The various pieces found upon the present occasion are four hundred and twenty in number; this large number is accounted for by the fact that three hundred and twenty-eight of the beads are of very small size; fifty-four of them are of a larger cylindrical shape, and the remaining eighteen are studs and plates, some of which are ornamented with punctured devices. Taken altogether, the necklace is a surprising example of primitive industry; and the time consumed in forming it, under the disadvantages resulting from imperfect tools of flint or stone, must have been very considerable indeed; but when we take into account the spare time at the disposal of savages who lived by the chase, and who had no mental employment, we cease to feel surprise at such proofs of laborious idleness. There does not appear to be any great difference in the form of the sculls of those individuals who lived during the earliest metallurgic ages; in some instances, their mode of interment partakes more of the nature of grave burial; holes being sunk in the rock wherein to deposit the body, over which was piled the sepulchral mound, sometimes to a very large size; but from the prevailing shortened formation of the crania, I have been of the opinion that the race is identical with the last described, and consequently infer, that the transition to the use of metal was not brought about either suddenly or by means of any hostile irruption or colonization. The following barrow may be taken as a good example of this period.

In June 1848 was examined a mutilated barrow, not very far from Minninglow, which had originally been about four feet in height; it consisted of tempered and

compact earth down to the natural level, below which, in the centre of the tumulus, there appeared a fabric of very large stones, the two uppermost of which were placed vertically, whilst all the rest were laid in an horizontal position, without any design or order, save that the lowest course was laid hollow, so as not to be in contact with the floor of the excavation, in the interior of which they were piled up, and which was cut out at least eight feet below the natural surface, thus rendering the entire depth from the summit of the barrow about twelve feet. Underneath these large stones, was laid the skeleton of a man of fine proportions, apparently the only individual interred in the hill. When buried, he had been enveloped in a skin, the hairy covering of which was in many places apparent, particularly so upon the verdigris covering both a bronze dagger and a celt of the same metal, discovered with the skeleton (plate XIX, figs. 1 and 2); on the latter instrument there are also distinct impressions of fern leaves, handfuls of which, in a decayed state, surrounded the bones from head to feet. From these leaves being only discernible on one side of the celt, whilst the other side presents traces of the hide alone, it is very evident that the fern was strewed over and around the body, which was clothed in a skin at the time of interment. The position of the relics accompanying the body was well ascertained, and is further evidenced by the bronze whilst in process of corrosion having stained the bones where it had been in contact with a beautiful green. A small flat circular bead of jet or shale and a circular flint lay close to the head; the bronze dagger lay in contact with the upper bone of the left arm, and against the middle of the left thigh bone was deposited the bronze celt, with its cutting edge towards the upper part of the skeleton. The former weapon retained its sharp edge, and had originally been fastened into a horn handle by two broad rivets; the celt was of the plainest form, without any socket, and appeared to have been inserted into a wooden shaft for about two inches from the narrow end.

Here the connected chain of the sepulchral monuments of the ancients appears to break off, as I have never yet observed a single implement of the more advanced ages of the bronze period, in any tumulus. And I am therefore at a loss to decide, whether the more artificially formed

palstaves, celts, spears, swords, etc., are to be regarded merely as further developments of the primitive bronze weapons, or, whether they are not evidences of the admixture of a foreign element amongst the ancient population; it will at once be seen that some considerable change in customs took place at the period of their introduction; otherwise, they would be found in the barrows, in the same manner as the earlier implements; and it will likewise not escape observation that this circumstance prevents our ascertaining anything from the bones with regard to the race who fabricated or used them. I have been disposed to think that the interments of this period are to be looked for in the calcined bones contained in small and well baked funereal urns which are sometimes found in barrows which contain no unburnt remains.

The tumuli upon Stanton Moor, near Bakewell, are probably of this kind; most of them were roughly opened during the last century, and many urns of superior character were found in them. Be this as it may, we arrive lastly at the age, when iron was principally used for the fabrication of weapons, when we find interment by inhumation to be most extensively, if not universally practised; the crania from mounds of this date, approximate much more nearly to the oval form of the heads of the modern race now inhabiting the same country; the bones of the leg and thigh prove the people to have been frequently tall, as thigh bones of twenty and twenty-one inches in length have been obtained from these barrows, in which the weapons are generally a knife, or spear, and sometimes a sword.

I cannot bring this paper to a close more appropriately than by relating the discoveries attending the opening of one of these latest of the tumuli erected by the benighted inhabitants of our highly-favoured land, and I shall then have placed before the meeting an account of a barrow of each of the more strongly-marked periods of our unwritten history.

About twelve months since was excavated a finely-shaped barrow of earth with a few stones in the middle, situated at no great distance from Taddington, the dimensions of which were about seventeen yards across, and four feet high at the centre, where a shallow grave, about a foot

deep, was sunk in the rock on purpose to contain the body, which had been laid with the head towards the west and the feet to the contrary point. Beneath the fragments of bone were many remains of short hair, of a light colour; and beneath the hair was a considerable quantity of decayed wood. To the left of the body, which had been extended at full length, was a broadsword one yard long, enclosed in a sheath of thin wood outwardly covered with ornamented leather (pl. xix, fig. 3); under the handle of the sword was a very small knife, also of iron. Amongst the stone, about a foot from the bottom of the grave, were many fragments of corroded iron, and the nails by which they had been attached to wood, also two small javelin heads four and a half inches long; the relative position of the latter with the body, was at a short distance over the right shoulder. The iron articles included nine loops of hoop iron, eight staples or eyes which have been clenched through boards about an inch thick, and one or two other objects, the use of which is not very evident; indeed a good deal of obscurity attends any solution of the purpose for which the whole of them were originally constructed. The sword is of the form usually attributed to the Saxons, and is mainly remarkable as possessing a very small handle, the space allotted to which is not more than four inches. How the owner was able to manage so weighty a weapon, with so short a handle, is rather surprising; but I believe it is an ascertained fact, that the extremities of the ancient inhabitants of Britain were much smaller than those of the present generations.

I had almost forgotten to add that we never meet with the impressions of woven fabrics on the rust of bronze weapons, though such evidences of refinement and civilization are generally to be observed upon implements deposited during the iron period, whether of that metal or the more remotely discovered bronze.

I trust that these few remarks will be sufficient to shew what a mine of information exists relative to times of the most obscure antiquity, and to indicate to the inquiring mind the most natural method upon which researches into the unrecorded history of the infancy of nations are to be pursued with the most obvious and successful results; as we are here no longer puzzled by the monstrous fables of the classical and mediæval writers, but proceed in our

estimate of men and things, from an actual inspection of their existing remains, which if rightly interrogated will at least answer our inquiries with truth, and thus enable us to form some correct idea of the state of *our* nation at a period perhaps contemporary with that in which Abraham fed his flocks in the plains of Shinar.

ON THE

ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE FAMILIES OF FERRERS AND PEVEREL.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

One of the most important benefits that can arise from the visits of peripatetic societies like ours, is the disabusing, if not the public mind, at least the minds of all who take an interest in such subjects, of those popular errors, which, small in themselves, are, from their number and the sanction they have received from time, the most dangerous obstacles to the progress of historical information. Assumed as facts, and apparently too diminutive to be of consequence even if suspected, they become, either, points from which long lines of inquiry start in wrong directions; or which, touched in our course, cause us insensibly to diverge from the right track, every step increasing our distance from it, until, completely at fault, we give up the pursuit in despair. The sound archæologist believes nothing upon hearsay; mistrusts all copies; requires contemporary evidence of the minutest circumstance, and even then examines with jealousy its nature and value, and consequently looks forward with the greatest interest to the opportunities afforded him, at these agreeable gatherings, of personally investigating monuments which no drawings could perfectly represent, and conversing with local antiquaries whose information or opinion might never have reached him, or have been misconstrued if conveyed through the medium of books or by private correspondence.

The subject I have selected for investigation on the present occasion, is one of those apparently immaterial points which has been considered disposed of, or not demanding further inquiry. I am not prepared to say that any result is likely to be obtained from its examination beyond the establishing of a simple fact; but the importance of that fact cannot be tested at the present moment. Its ultimate value to the historian, or the biographer, no one can pretend to predict. It is sufficient, I contend, that the matter is open to doubt, to justify the question I am about to put to Derbyshire antiquaries in the town of Derby, desiring information as much for myself, as I am anxious to impart the little I may have acquired to others. What is the authority for the origin of the coat of arms which has been handed down to us as those of the De Ferrers, earls of Derby, namely, *sable*, three or six horseshoes, *argent;* or, as some have it, *argent*, the horseshoes *sable?*

I acknowledge that I was so fully persuaded that I should find a satisfactory answer to this question in the first book of any consequence I might refer to, that I was more than half inclined to choose another subject for my paper. I imagined I might have some slight doubts as to the first bearer of the coat; I expected to find it appropriated to that one of the family who came over with the conqueror, and to have to point out to you that it was probably his grandson or great-grandson who first assumed it, and there an end. Perhaps, therefore, you may be as much surprised as I was, when I tell you that neither in county history, nor heraldic chronicle, could I discover any authority for the arms whatever. It does not by any means follow that there is none, because I have not been able to find it; perhaps some here can assist me. In the meanwhile, I will tell you what I did find during the short period I have been able to dedicate to the prosecution of my researches.

The popular story is, that the Norman ancestor of the family of Ferrers, who came over with the conqueror, received his surname from holding the office of master of the farriers, or smiths, in the invading army; and that one Walchelin de Ferrers, who lived in the time of Stephen, was lord of the castle of Oakham, in Rutland-

shire, "wherein," says Guillim, "there is an ancient privilege or custom which the inhabitants claim, that is, if any nobleman enter their precincts or lordships, as an homage he is to forfeit one of his horse's shoes, unless he redeem it with money; and the truth of this is apparent by the many horseshoes nailed upon the shire hall doors, and their badge is a horseshoe."

As to the first part of this tale: the companion in arms of the conqueror was Henry, son of Walkeline de Ferrers or de Ferrariis; so called, not from an office which he held, but from the town of Ferrierres in Normandy, of which he was the seigneur, as the *de* would imply, had we no knowledge of the existence of a place so named, Now, although I am the last person who would deny that it would be quite in conformity with the ancient usage of arms for a man so named to assume, as his cognoissance, a fer de cheval, which might afterwards become the heraldic coat of his family, there is no document existing, as far as I have been able to discover, which attests that fact, and the mere dictum of Guillim that "the bearing of horseshoes in armoury is very ancient, as the arms of Robert de Ferrars, earl Ferrars, testifyeth, who lived in the time of king Stephen, and bore for his arms, *argent*, six horseshoes, *sable*", goes literally for nothing unsupported by contemporary evidence.

"In the name of the sacred and undivided Trinity, I, Henry de Ferrers (Henricus de Ferrariis), have founded a church in honour of holy Mary, the mother of God, near to my castle, of Tutbury, for the soul of king William and queen Matilda, and for the health of my father and my mother, and my wife Berta, and my sons Eugenulph, William, and Robert, and my daughters, and all my ancestors and friends." (*Found. Chart. Regist. Tutbury.*)

Henri de Ferrierres appears, by the charter above quoted, to have had issue by Bertha his wife (the name of her family, by the way, has yet, I believe, to be discovered) three sons; Eugenulph and William, who died without issue, and Robert de Ferrers, first earl of Ferrers (Robertus comes de Ferrariis, mark you), who died in or before the year 1138, leaving issue by Hawise de Vitre (his countess), three sons, and several daughters. His second son, Robert de Ferrers, of Tutbury, who

designates himself Robertus Junior, and comes de Nottingham, succeeded his father as earl of Ferrers; and if we may trust Ordericus Vitalis, was created earl of Derby by king Stephen in 1138, and became earl of Nottingham previous to 1141.[1] This Robert de Ferrers, the second earl of that name, confirms all that his grandfather Henry, or his uncle Eugenulph, or his father Robert had granted. His elder brother William, slain in his lodgings in Lombard street, London, is by Collins set down as earl of Ferrers and Derby, on the authority of Henry Chiting, Chester herald; but all the charters go to disprove this assertion. It must materially depend also upon which of the two Roberts was present at the battle of the Standard. One of these Roberts, however, must be the man alluded to by Guillim, as living in the time of king Stephen; and Vincent, correcting Brooke, under the title of Nottingham, says also as positively as Guillim, that the arms of Ferrers at this period were "six ferres de cheval", but without citing any evidence of the fact from seal, sculpture, roll, or chronicle. This second Robert died in 1184, the thirtieth year of Henry II, at which period armorial bearings were beginning to make their appearance, and consequently, as I have already stated, the display of such "armes parlantes" as "ferres de cheval" for the family of Ferrers, is not an improbable circumstance: yet we have no proof, and must not rely upon probabilities. Vincent, in his elaborate pedigree of Ferrers in the college of arms,[2] has drawn, in pen and ink, by the side of the name of the first Robert who died in 1138, a heart-shaped shield marked S for *sable*, with six horse-shoes upon it, marked A for *argent*, and by the side of that of Walcheline de Ferrers, the grandfather of Robert, who died before the conquest, a similar shield S, with three horse-shoes, A. The shape of these shields would be quite sufficient to prove to any antiquary that they are not copied from any seal or contemporary drawing or sculpture; and they therefore confirm my belief that Vincent had no sufficient authority for their insertion, and at all events the appropriating any regular coat of arms

[1] Some genealogists, Dugdale and Collins, quoting John Hagustold, insist that it was the first Robert who was made earl of Derby by king Stephen for his conduct at the battle of the Standard, and that he did not die till 1139.

[2] Marked Warwick, 1619. College of Arms, No. 126.

to Walkeline de Ferrers, before 1066, is enough to throw suspicion upon any other coat introduced into the same document without a voucher for its authenticity.

This second Robert de Ferrers, earl of Ferrers, perhaps of Derby, and certainly of Nottingham, married Sibilla, daughter of William lord Braose, of Brembre. As this is a fact, respecting which there has been great difference of opinion amongst genealogists, some of whom have given Sibilla de Broase to William, the son of this Robert, and married Robert to Margaret Peverel, I must call your attention to the explicit declaration of Robert de Ferrers himself, who, in a deed printed by Vincent, in his notice of Brooke's second edition, not only names his wife Sibilla de Braose, but designates her also as the mother of his son and heir William.

"Robertus comes de Ferrieres omnibus filiis, etc., . . . Hoc autem feci pro salute domini regis H. et mea et W. filij mei et hæredum nostrorum et pro anima regis H. et antecessorum nostrorum et anima Sibilla de Braosa uxoris meæ matris W. filii mei et sua, et pro salute Berta matris uxoris meæ[1] quæ dedit mihi hanc terram et pro pace et stabilitate totiûs Angliæ et Walliæ."—*Vincent's Discoverie*, p. 677.

Unless this deed be a forgery there is from such evidence no appeal.[2] He died, and was buried at Mirevale, the abbey which he founded in 1162.

We now come to his son, the first William, earl of Ferrers and Derby, who is set down by Vincent as the husband of Margaret Peverel, daughter of William Peverel, lord of Nottingham, who was dispossessed of his estates by king Henry II, for conspiring with Maud, countess of Chester, to poison her husband, Randolph Gernons, earl of Chester, in 1155. In consequence of this match (by which the family of Ferrers acquired some portion at least, as it appears, of the domains of Peverel, and, amongst other possessions, the lordship of Higham, in Northamptonshire, afterwards called Higham Ferrers, Plac. coram Rege Mich. Term, 25 of Henry III), he is said to have assumed the second well known coat of Ferrers, Vairy, *or* and *gules*: "for that bearing", says Vincent, "was not used in this family until they had

[1] Bertha, daughter of Milo, earl of Hereford, wife of William de Braose lord of Brember.

[2] See also *Monasticon Ang.*, vol. ii, p. 862, old edit.

married Peverel's heir." Here again we have probability in place of proof. 1155 is early for coat armour, and neither of William Peverel, nor of this William de Ferrers, who died, it is reported, at the siege of Acre, in 1190, have I ever seen a seal, nor have I met with any evidence to support this assertion. There is another point to be settled in this part of the pedigree of De Ferrers. In the register of Tutbury are transcribed two charters of this first William, one quoted by sir Oswald Mosley, in which the said William endows the priory of Tutbury with a certain oxgang of land, in Marston, for the salvation of his soul and those of his wife *Sibilla*[1] and his children, and confirms the gifts of Henry de Ferrers and Eugenulph, and Robert his grandfather, and Robert his father; and another, in which he speaks of "*Sibilla* comitisse, amice mea." Now, as the William, who here calls Sibilla his wife, calls Robert his father, it follows, that as she cannot have been Sibilla de Braose, whom I have distinctly proved to you was this William's mother, he must have married a second wife, named Sibilla, after the decease of Margaret Peverel, and this similarity of Christian name may have caused the confusion worse confounded, which pervades Dugdale, Brooke, Shaw, and Banks, in their contradictory accounts of this descent, and which, though Vincent has severely commented upon the errors of the second named genealogist, he has not, himself, been able entirely to correct. If this be so, and we have another Sibilla countess de Ferrers to register, "whose daughter was she?" becomes a most important question. It cannot be a clerical error, for Dugdale quotes a third document, in the chartulary of St. Denis, in which the said William, 1 Rich. I, gives to the monks of St. Denis, in France, for the health of his soul, and the soul of *Sibil* his wife, one wax taper yearly, price thirteenpence: as also a stag and a boar, in their proper seasons, to be sent annually to them, at the feast of St. Denis, by the messengers of him, the said earl, and his heirs. If, on the other hand, they should be right who give Margaret Peverel to Robert, *he* must have had two wives, and Margaret *was not the mother of his heir.*

[1] Collins, although he also makes this William to marry Margaret Peverel, on the authority of Jekyll's MS. and Chester herald, still speaks of her as the grandmother, instead of the mother, of the second William.

William, the second of that name, earl of Ferrers and Derby, but not of Nottingham (that county having been given to John, earl of Mortaign, by his brother, Richard I), married Agnes, daughter of Hugh Kevillioc, earl of Chester, and died in 1247.

I regret to be obliged to demolish an interesting little anecdote told of this noble couple by the chronicler, Matthew Paris; but it is too good an example of the necessity of examining even contemporary evidence for me to pass it without notice. That historian tells us that this William, earl of Derby, and Agnes de Bohun, lived together as man and wife seventy years. As in those days persons of such rank and importance were frequently married, or at least betrothed, at very early ages, there is nothing in the assertion to startle one; but there exists a contemporary document which commences with the following words:—"The year of the incarnation of our Lord, one thousand one hundred and ninety-two, the year, that is to say, *in which the earl of Ferrers took to wife Agnes*, the sister of Ranulf, earl of Chester, peace is made, and a final agreement, in the court of William, earl of Ferrers, at Tutbury, before the said earl, between Sewallus the son of Fulcher, and Fulcher the son of Henry, his nephew," &c. (*Stemmata Shirleiana*, 4to., 1841.) Therefore, if William, earl of Ferrers and Derby, died in 1247, as there is pretty good evidence he did, the term of the connubial felicity of this venerable "*Darby* and *Joan*" is shortened by no less than fifteen years.

But to return to our heraldry.

We now, for the first time, are enabled to produce vouchers for our assertions respecting the armorial bearings of this family. In a roll of arms, a copy it is true, but bearing internal evidence of its accuracy, the original of which has unfortunately disappeared, but must have been compiled between 1240 and 1245, we have the entry, "Le comte de Ferrers: verre de *or* et de *goules*"; and in another copy of a roll, as nearly as possible of the same date, in the Harleian collection of MSS., British Museum, we find the arms of the "Comte de Ferrers" tricked (that is, outlined, with the colours marked by letters), *vairy*, *or* and *gules:* not a word or sign in either case of horseshoes, mind you. In Westminster Abbey, amongst

the shields of the nobility of England sculptured and painted about this same period, exists, or till lately existed, a shield bearing vairy *or* and *gules*, and subscribed, "Guil. C. de Ferrariis de Derbia"; and, therefore, we have sufficient evidence that such was the coat borne by William de Ferrers, earl of Derby, from 1190 to 1247, but no proof of its origin with the family of Peverel: on the contrary, in the last-named roll, of Henry III's time, the arms of Hue Peverel are given as *argent*, three garbs *azure*, a chief *or*. In one of Edward II's time, sir Robert Peverel bears, "de goules a les crussules patees d'or, a une fesse de argent"; and in another of Edward III's reign "Monsieur Pouterel vel Peverel" is set down as bearing "d'or sur la bende d'azur, trois fleurs de lys d'argent"; whilst Banks and a recent writer give the arms of Peverel of Nottingham: quarterly, *gules* and vairy *or* and *azure*, a lion rampant *argent*; and those of Peverel of London, gyronée of twelve, *argent* and *gules*; a border *sable*, bezanté.

It does not, of course, follow that the early Peverels did not bear the coat attributed to them, I only repeat my question, what proof is there that they did?

To return to the De Ferrers. The third William de Ferrers, son of the second William by his wife Agnes, and grandson of the first William, succeeded his father in 1247, and his seal, as earl of Derby, to a charter of the 37th of Henry III, A.D. 1253, displays an escutcheon: vairy, within a border of horseshoes. It also appears, that, previous to his father's death, he bore the same coat, for in the roll of arms before-mentioned (Harleian MS. 6589), while the count de Ferrers is given "vairy *or* and *gules*", to "Will. d' Ferrers" is appropriated "vairy *or* and *gules*, on a border *azure*, twelve horseshoes of the first". In the other roll of Henry III's time, in the college of Arms, this William's brother, Hugh de Ferrers, bears "vairée de argent et de azure"; and another brother, sir Thomas de Ferrers, who was living in Edward II's time, is in the roll of that period accorded "vairy *or* and *gules*, with a baton *azure*" for difference.[1] Why, then, it may occur to

[1] In the roll of knights at the tournament of Dunstable, also during the reign of Edward II, sir Thomas de Ferrers is said to have borne vairy, *or*, and *gules*, a canton of the arms of the earl of Hereford (De Bohun), and a John de Ferrers (of Chartley most likely) vairy, *or*, and *gules*, without a difference.

us, should not the border of horse-shoes be the difference assumed by the elder son, such being in perfect accordance with the practice of the age? There is the fact that he bore it after his father's death, as earl of Derby, in reply to this suggestion. It, therefore, was evidently not a mark of cadency. It was a difference assumed for some other reason, and that reason has hitherto been supposed the match with the heiress of Peverel, which induced the father or grandfather of this William to take the coat of Peverel and surround it with a border of Ferrers; the practice of quartering or impaling not being in use at that early period. We will pass over the objection that the arms of Ferrers were, according to the same authorites, *argent*, three or six horse-shoes *sable*, the change of metal and tincture might have been a caprice in those days of capricious heraldry: but we have yet to prove that vairy, *or* and *gules*, was the coat of Peverel, and that the husband of Margaret or their son and successor bore any border to that coat. Nay, the proof extant is to the contrary respecting the latter point, and, therefore, we must consider William the grandson (it may be the great grandson), of Margaret Peverel, the first bearer of it, both before and after his accession to the earldom. What is the next point that occurs to us in this inquiry? This third William's mother was, as we have stated, Agnes de Bohun, daughter of Hugh Kevillioc, earl of Chester. There is no sign of a horse-shoe on that side of the question. But who did this William marry? His second wife, the mother of his heir, was Margaret, daughter and heiress of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester; but he had previously been the husband of a lady who brought him no less than seven daughters, and that lady was Sibilla, daughter of William Marshal the elder, earl of Pembroke, and sister and heir of Anselm Marshal, the last son of that earl. Here the horse-shoe pinches sure enough! On the seal of Walter Marshal, seventh earl of Pembroke, who died in the keep of Goodrich castle A.D. 1246, amongst the ruins of which the seal was found, is the figure of a horse-shoe, within it a long nail, and round it the legend, "S. Gaultier le Mareschal d'Ang", "seal of Walter, the marshal of England". It is engraved in our *Journal*, vol. vi, plate XXXIV, fig. 3, in illustration

of Mr. Syer Cuming's paper "on horse-shoes", and the writer alludes to it as the earliest figure of a medieval horse-shoe that he has been able to find. William Marshal the elder was, in right of his wife Isabel, daughter and heir of Richard de Clare, created earl of Pembroke by king John on the day of his coronation, 1199, and had given to him the marshalship of England. By this Isabella he had five sons; William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter (the owner of the seal), and Anselm: all successively earls of Pembroke and marshals of England. He had also five daughters; Maud, Joan, Isabel, Sibilla (the wife of William de Ferrers), and Eva; who, on the death of their last brother, Anselm, without issue on the twenty-second of September 1245 (for he outlived his brother Walter but eighteen days), became the sharers of his rich patrimony and inheritance; the office of marshal of England being granted to Hugh Bigot, earl of Norfolk, who married the eldest daughter Maud, and had with her the manor of Hemstead Marshal in Berkshire, by which the office was held. The share which fell to the lot of Sibilla de Ferrers[1] would no doubt justify her fortunate husband in displaying the badge of the family, to a fifth of whose property he so snugly succeeded. The seven daughters she bore him inherited, it is most probable, the estates of their mother;[2] for they all obtained husbands of considerable rank, and four out of the seven, more than one. Maud and Eleanor indeed had three husbands each; the former marrying, first, Simon de Kyme,[3] secondly, William de Vivonia de Fortibus, and thirdly, Emericus de Rupecanardi; and the latter, first, William de Vallibus, or Vaux, secondly, Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester, and thirdly, Roger de Leyburne.

Robert de Ferrers, son and heir of the third William, by his second wife, Margaret de Quincy, and last earl of that family, did not continue to bear the border of horse-shoes displayed by his father, but had for his coat simply vairy, *or*, and *gules*, as his grandfather had. This is evidenced by the impression of his seal, engraved in Shaw's

[1] "Sibyl, the fourth, was wife to William de Ferrers, earl of Derby, to whom she brought Kildate."—Collins.

[2] The seven co-heirs of Sibilla, wife of William de Ferrers, earl of Derby, had each £217. 2s. 10½d. *Collectanea Top., et Gen.*, vol. vi, p. 86.

[3] Not William, as generally stated.

Staffordshire, and also by the roll of arms of Edward II's time, in which, amongst the names and arms of the great lords *abatues*, "le comte de Ferrers", occurs with the blazon, "Verre de *or*, et de *goules*." This is very remarkable, because it certainly seems to imply that he had no right to bear the horse-shoes; and we find his brother William, who inherited the barony of Groby from his mother, Margaret de Quincy, set down in the same roll as bearing "De *goules* à les lozenges de *or*;" and his grandson Henry, in a roll of Edward III's time, "De *goules* à VI lozenges percés *d'or*", they having abandoned altogether the arms of Ferrers for those of De Quincy, which were *gules*, six mascles or lozenges voided of the field, *or*". There is, however, in the latter roll of Edward III's time, a William de Ferrers, who is said to bear quite a different coat: "Mons. William de Ferrers porte les armes de Mauley a trois fer de cheval en la bend, *d'argent*". Now this is another very interesting fact, because the arms of Mauley were simply "*or*, a bend, *sable*", on which it seems this William de Ferrers had placed three horse-shoes, *argent*. Are we to understand that this entry, like many others of this period, simply means that he bore arms similar to those of the latter family, with the exception of the horse-shoes, or the actual coat of De Mauley with a difference? In the windows of the church of Beer Ferrers, in Devonshire, are the portraits of a sir William de Ferrers (the founder) and his wife with these arms. The costume is that of Edward II, and a sir William de Ferrers who, in 1337, had a license for castellating his house here, died 11 Edward III, and the grant was renewed to his widow the same year, and to John de Ferrers, 14 Edward III. (Lysons, apud *Patents* of Edward III, sub ann.) In Vincent's *Collections*, MS. College of Arms, No. 10, the William de Ferrers who died 11 Edward III, is said to have married Matilda de Courtenay; and in the broken and partly defaced inscription above the head of the lady, "Merci de moy Maud", I think is legible. This branch of the family terminated previous to the close of the fourteenth century, and the co-heiresses of Martin de Ferrers, the eldest of whom brought Beer Ferrers to the Champernounes: but I have not yet been able to trace its descent from the main line. It is, how-

ever, clear that this William de Ferrers lived subsequently to the marriage of Sibilla Marshal with William earl of Derby. In the thirty-eighth year of Edward III, A.D. 1363, I find that William de Morley, son and heir of Robert de Morley and of Hawise, sister and heir of John le Mareschal, of Hengham, had license to travel beyond sea, and also to grant his office of marshal of Ireland, which had descended to him by his mother, to Henry de Ferrers, to hold so long as he behaved himself well therein. The family arms of De Morley were "*argent*, a lion rampant crowned, *or*", and the windows at Beer Ferrers therefore prove to us it is not a careless transcription, in the roll of Edward III's time, just quoted, of de *Mawley* for de *Morley*, as might at first be conjectured; but there is the fact of the grant of the marshalship of Ireland to Henry de Ferrers by William de Morley, although I am unacquainted with the motive which occasioned it; and the next instance I have found of horse-shoes connected with the arms of De Ferrers occurs in the seal of Edmund, lord Ferrers of Chartley, temp. Henry V. He does not appear to have borne them as any portion of his coat, which, like that of his ancestor Robert, last earl of Ferrers and Derby, is simply vairy, *or*, and *gules;* but they are placed on the mantling or lambrequins of the helmet, three on each side, as a badge or cognizance, indicating a family connexion; and this is again worthy of notice, because his mother was Margaret le Despencer, great grandaughter of the aforesaid Henry, lord Ferrers of Groby, marshal of Ireland; her grandfather Edward le Despencer having married Henry's daughter Anne. I will assert nothing positively on this fact, but merely notice the curious coincidence of the horse-shoes making their appearance in the arms of De Ferrers for the second time after an event in which the Marshals are in some way concerned.

Having now reached the fifteenth century without finding any authority to support the assertion which prompted this inquiry, I will not trespass further on your time at the present moment, much as I have been tempted by the discovery of many errors in the various pedigrees of this illustrious family, the correction of which can only be made by reference to original and official documents. I

shall restrict myself to the fact, that there is not one out of all that I have been yet enabled to inspect, which can be thoroughly relied upon, and that whilst I by no means deny the probability that the arms of De Ferrers were originally horse-shoes, I think I have succeeded in proving to you how little is positively known of such subjects, and of what vague and unsatisfactory materials our best genealogical and heraldic works have hitherto been composed. Our archives are rich in records that can clear up many of these historic doubts, and the spirit of critical inquiry now set a-foot throughout the country, by such associations as ours, will induce local antiquaries to bestir themselves, and complete the chain of evidence by the production of family muniments, which, even if their existence were suspected, would, in many cases, be inaccessible without such co-operation. In conclusion, let me beg that it will be distinctly understood that I do not charge the ancient heralds with having *forged* the horse-shoes for the De Ferrers, I only complain of their having left us in the dark respecting the smithy in which they found them.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON SOME OF THE ANCIENT MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS OF DERBYSHIRE.

BY J. O. HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.

The local history of all parts of England previously to the sixteenth century is necessarily illustrated in a considerable degree by the memorials which have descended to us of the noble monastic institutions which erewhile adorned the land, and were of good use in their generation. The ramifications of the politico-religious system of our ancestors were so extensive, influencing every portion of the country, and dominant over the great mass of the people, that the grand resources of information for those who would generalize the literary remains of the middle

ages in all their bearing on the real condition of the people, must be sought for in the records of religious foundations.

I feel quite sure it will be unnecessary to observe that it will be impracticable to enter into so extensive a subject with any degree of minuteness in the course of any essay of this description. It would require a very large volume to do justice to the subject; but, preliminary to a more extensive design, it may not be considered superfluous to offer to the society a few notes on some of the most interesting monasteries and priories which existed in Derbyshire before the Reformation. Most of my materials have of course been accessible to the numerous writers who have treated on English monasteries.

Yeveley alias Stede. A cell or preceptory of the Hospitallers, founded by Ralph le Fun, in the reign of Richard I. The foundation was increased by Sir W. Meynill, in the thirteenth century, an ancestor, I believe, of the present highly respectable family of that name, and who was also a benefactor to the cell of Calke. (*Orig. Ch.* inedited.) This preceptory was granted by Henry VIII to lord Montjoy, and Dugdale says the estates were worth £93 : 3 : 4 per annum.

Abbey of Beauchief. The history of this abbey has been written by Dr. Pegge. The following account of the foundations is given in the manuscript collections of Kniveton :—

"Robertus filius Rannulfi, dominus de Alfretona, Nortona, et Marnham, fuit unus de quatuor militibus, qui beatum Thomam, Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, martirizavit; et postea monasterium de Bellocapite fundabat, in expiatione hujuscemodi facenoris, tempore regis Henrici secundi. Istius Roberti filius fuit Willielmus, dominus et baro de Alfreton, Norton, et Marnham, tempore regis Ricardi primi; qui genuit Robertus de Alfreton, baronem de Alfreton, qui per Agnetem uxorem ejus habuit exitum Thomam filium et hæredem, baronem de Alfreton; qui sine prole defunctus, reliquit hæreditatem suam tribus sororibus, videlicet, Aliciæ, uxori Gulielmi de Cadurcis militis, filii Gulielmi de Cadurcis (vulgo Chaworthe), Amiciæ nuptæ Roberto filio Ricardi Lathom, domino de Lathom in comitatu Lancastriæ, antecessori comitum Derbiæ, et Leticiæ, qui obiit sine prole."

Dr. Pegge, however, doubts this account, asserting that the house was founded between the years 1172 and 1176; for Becket, the patron saint, was not canonized before the

former year, and Albinus abbot of Derby, who is one of the witnesses to the charter of foundation, was dead in 1176. There is some uncertainty in reasoning on evidence of this kind, the copies of foundation charters not being always to be depended upon, and the originals themselves seldom preserved to this day. Beauchief abbey was surrendered in 1536, and its site granted to sir Nicholas Strelley. Its net revenue is given as £126 : 3 : 3 in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535, in which it is mentioned as having been founded "per antecessores Johannæ Fitzwilliam, dominæ Annæ Meering, et Thomæ Babyngton".

Priory of Derley. Amongst the *Placita coram rege de Term. Paschæ 7 Ric. II, rot.* 28 *Derb.* in the Public Record Office at London, is the "Carta Hugonis, dicti Presbyteri, Decani de Derbeia, de Fundatione ejusdem". Tanner says that Robert de Ferrariis, second earl of Derby, partly out of some of the crown monies granted him by Henry I, or Stephen, and partly out of his own estate, founded a religious house near the town of Derby, dedicated to St. Helen; it is, however, certain from an original charter, or rather an early copy of it preserved in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Titus C. ix, that Derley priory was in existence as early as the year 1121. The charter commences thus:

"Sciant omnes tam præsentes quam futuri, quod controversia quæ diu fuit inter domum hospitalis Jerusalem, et abbatem et canonicos sanctæ Mariæ de Derley, de terra quæ vocatur Waingrif,"

concluding thus:

"Pro hac autem concessione et libertate facta anno incarnationis Domini 1121° hospitalarii persolvent annuatim prædicto abbati et canonicis quinque solidos infra octabas S. Michaelis, recipiendos apud abbatiam de Derley per manum alicujus hominis hospitalariorum."

In the Lincoln taxation made about 19 Edward I, there is "magister domus S. Helenæ Derbeyæ", distinct from the abbot of Derley, which seems scarcely reconcilcable with Tanner's assertion that the Derley endowment was translated at a very early period to Little Derby on the river Derwent, which, he says, was given them by Hugh, dean of Derby. Another charter mentions the gift of a parcel of land called Haymond or Haymone to Derley by John the son of William Peverell. This William Peverell

was probably the same with a William Peverel of Nottingham, who gave this establishment the church of Bolsover, and "totam terram inter Hanele et Godrichesgrif, usque ad aquam de Dal: et sedem molendini de Bottehalg, cum Mulnecroft, in perpetuam elemosinam, libere et quiete ab omni seculari servicio, et communem pasturam in bosco et plano".

The chief portion of the materials for a history of this priory would be derived from the very valuable cartulary preserved in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum. Four other cartularies of Derley abbey have been preserved, and if any auditor of this brief paper should perchance be acquainted with the present depositories of any of them, he would confer the greatest favour by communicating with me on the subject. In the expectation of obtaining some information respecting them, I may mention that Dr. Farmer, the master of Emmanuel college, Cambridge, formerly possessed a cartulary of Derley abbey, a thin quarto of twenty-one leaves, on vellum, containing transcripts of one hundred and twelve deeds. The next register belonged to a gentleman of the name of Clay, of the parish of Criche, co. Derb. Perhaps this valuable volume may still be owned by the Clay family. A third belonged to lord Kingston in 1630; and a fourth is cited in Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, p. 43. A few extracts from one of the Derley registers are given in Dodsworth's collections in the Bodleian library.

In the year 1540, the tombs of the whole church, together with the cloisters and chapter house, were sold for £31; and the six bells realized the larger sum of £45 : 1 : 10, the plate weighing in all one hundred and thirty-four ounces. The site was granted, 32 Hen. VIII, to sir Wm. West, and a few of the walls and outhouses, the latter converted into cottages, are said to be still preserved. The following valuation is extracted from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

"Com. Derb. *Monasterium beatæ Mariæ Virginis de Derlegh.*

Summa temporalium et spiritualium . .	285*li.* 9*s.* 6½*d.*
Summa deductionum	26*li.* 16*s.* 1½*d.*
Et remanet clare .	258*li.* 13*s.* 5*d.*

Priory of Dominicans, Derby. An inventory of the

goods of this friary is preserved in the Record office at the Chapter house, Westminster. It was dedicated to the Virgin, and its site was granted, in 35 Hen. VIII, to John Wynde. Tanner erroneously terms him *Hynde*. The proper name is however satisfactorily ascertained from the Repertories to the Originalia, MS. in Brit. Mus., from which it appears that John Wynde had license, in that year, to alienate the site to one John Sharpe; and it appears, from the same authority, that Thomas Sharpe, probably his brother, was in possession of it in the fourth and fifth years of Philip and Mary. A manuscript note, however, in Dodsworth, says Nicholas Sharpe was the owner. There is scarcely any certain information to be collected respecting this friary.

Abbey of Le Dale or de Parco Stanley. The chief source of authentic information respecting this establishment is contained in a manuscript in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Vespas. E. xxvi, a register of charters relating to the abbey, a list of the abbats, and a curious history of the institution, entitled *Historia Monasterii de Parco Stanley*, the last piece being in a later hand than the rest of the manuscript. According to Tanner, Serlo de Grendon, in the reign of Henry II (or according to Willis, in the reign of Richard I, A.D. 1195), placed a prior and convent of black canons here in Depedale from the monastery of Calke, but they continued only a short time, and were succeeded by two sets of Premonstratensians, one from Tupholm, the other from Welbeck. These, in their turn, forsaking the old site upon part of the neighbouring park at Stanley, William Fitz Rauf, seneschal of Normandy, and Jeffrey de Salicosa Mara, who married Maud, his daughter, founded in the year 1204, according to the authority of MS. Ashmole 1519, an abbey of the Premonstratensian order from Newhouse, to the honour of the Virgin Mary. In the manuscript history of the abbey above mentioned, the Grendons are noticed in terms of high commendation, and I am induced to quote the following passage, as it is not only interesting on account of its connexion with the history of the abbey, but contains a notice of some curiosity in a philological point of view:

"Dominus de Bradleye, Serlo de Grindon nomine, miles armis strenuus, divitiis potens, generis eminentia conspicuus, accepit in uxorem Margeriam

filiam prædicti Radulphi filii Geremundi; et cum ipsa medietatem villæ de Okebrucke, in liberum maritagium; de qua genuit tres filias, scilicet Johannam, Isoldham, et Agatham; ad quas demum (proh dolor) descendit hæreditas. Genuit quoque quinque filios, Bertramum, postea canonicum nostrum; Willielmum clericum recolendæ memoriæ, advocatum nostrum; Fulcherum, Jordanum, et Serlonem. Postea accepit in uxorem Matildem nobilem progenie, sed moribus multo nobiliorem, dominam de Celston; de qua genuit Andriam de Grendon, et Radulphum dominum de Boteston, cæteris fratribus militibus. Genuit autem et Robertum, ex concubina; qui fuit armis potentior cæteris. Erant eo tempore Grendonenses famosissimi in terra hac, magnæque potentiæ viri; et habebat prædictus Serlo amitam unam, quæ et mater ejus erat spiritualis; eo quod eum de sacro fonte susceperat. Huic dedit dictus Serlo, quoad viveret, locum le Depedale, cum pertinentiis; et totam terram cultam et incultam, quæ est inter semitam, quæ extendit a boreali porta de Boyhag, versus occidentem, usque ad le Gotkeysiche et Bronesbroke. Et quia tales matres spirituales Anglice vocantur Gomes, ipsam, communi vocabulo, vocabant *the Gome of the Dale.* Hæc habebat filium nomine Richardum, bonæ indolis adolescentem, quem sacris literis eruditum, post sacros ordines rite susceptos, ordinari fecit presbyterum, ut in capella sua de Depedala ministraret in divinis; quod et fecit. Mansio autem ejusdem matronæ fuit in superiori parte orti nostri, versus austrum, in loco ubi nunc est stagnum, quod vocatur fratris Rogeri de Alisbury, ubi cum patres nostri fecerunt illud stagnum, invenerunt in fundo ipsius lapides plures sectos, qui olim fuerant de mansione supradicta."

In the list of abbats in the Cottonian MS., Walter de Senteney is stated to have been the first abbat, and to have ruled for thirty-one years and a quarter. It is curious to observe the various short notices of character affixed to each abbat. Thus Walter de Senteney was "vir summæ religionis"; the next was "vir totius prudentiæ"; the third, dominus Johannes Grauncorth, "Deo et hominibus amabilis, qui in diebus suis splenduit in ordine nostro, ut Lucifer et Esperus *(sic in MS.)* in cœli cardine": Richard de Normanton, "qui fuit dilapidator in tempore suo, et nimis onerosus successoribus suis". There is an air of truth and impartiality in these notices which leads us to rely upon their accuracy.

John Stanton, the last abbot, surrendered the abbey to Henry VIII, in October 1539, and the site was shortly afterwards granted to Francis Poole. Its rental was computed at £144 : 12. An impression of the abbey seal has been preserved. It represents the Virgin and Child, un-

derneath them a monk praying, with the legend, "S · ECCLESIE · SANCTE · MARIE · DE · PARCO · STANLEE".

Austin Cell of Calke. The site of this interesting monastic institution now belongs to sir John Harpur Crewe, bart., one of the vice-presidents of this meeting. Maud, widow of Ranulph, the second earl of Chester, founded at Calke a convent of regular canons of the order St. Austin, sometime before the death of Walter, bishop of Coventry, which happened in the year 1161. This appears from the original charter conveying to the canons of Calke the advowson of the church of Rependon, i. e., Repton, which commences as follows: "Waltero Dei gratia Coventrensi episcopo, universisque sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filius, Matildis comitissa Cestriæ salutem." Amongst the witnesses are William, abbot of Lilleshull, and Helia, prior of Bredon; but the lists of the heads of these establishments are not sufficiently accurate to enable us to ascertain the era of the document beyond the above-mentioned limit. We must, therefore, be contented with the certain evidence that it was written before the year 1161.

After the countess of Chester had removed the major portion of the canons from Calke to Repingdon or Repton, Calke became from that time (about the year 1172) a cell to Repingdon, and so continued to the dissolution. It was granted 11 December, 1 Edward VI, to John earl of Warwick, as parcel of Repingdon priory, and a copy of the grant at the dissolution is preserved in MS. Harl. 4316. It appears however, on unquestionable authority, the Book of Ely, that a religious community had existed at Repton long previously, it being there recorded that Edburga, daughter of Adulph, king of the East Angles, was abbess: —"Edburga, filia Adulphi regis Orientalium Anglorum, abbatissa in Reopendune." Ethelbald and Marewala, kings of Mercia, and Kynechardus, brother of Sigebert, king of the West Saxons, are said to have been buried at Rependon; and Leland records under the very early date A.D. 719, "Rippendune monasterium adiit, ibique sub abbatissa, nomine Alfritha, tonsuram et clericalem habitum suscepit."

I have elsewhere alluded to the extreme rarity of the foundation charters of monasteries. Ancient monastic

charters are sufficiently numerous, but it is only in very rare instances the first charter granted to a convent has been preserved to our times, and when they have occurred, they have generally produced extravagant prices. It is, therefore, worth mentioning that some time ago, in looking over a parcel of "unconsidered trifles" my attention was attracted to an old charter, which, when opened, to my great astonishment proved to be the original foundation charter of Calke convent, in most beautiful preservation, the writing as clear and distinct as when it was written,—nearly if not quite seven hundred years ago. Now, according to Dugdale, this extremely curious and valuable relic was, in the year 1664, in the possession of sir John Harpur, bart., of Calke, and I mention this circumstance, as I should be much interested in any particulars respecting its subsequent history. It would be singular if, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the countess of Chester's foundation-deed should be restored to its ancient resting-place at Calke. Such a restoration would be more than that of a painted window or a sculptured arch—it would be a physical and absolutely true memorial of the piety and liberality of the founder.

NOTICE OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF THARROS, BY THE REV. CANON GIOVANNI SPANO, WITH OBSERVATIONS ON ITS ANTIQUITIES, ETC.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER.

Signor Gaetano Cara, the director of the Royal Museum of Natural History and Antiquities, in the University of Cagliari, has had the kindness to transmit to the British Archæological Association, a drawing of considerable interest, which has been copied from a very thin sheet of gold, found within a small case of the same metal. The drawing consists of a variety of hieroglyphi-

cal characters or emblems, representing, what appears to me to be, a funereal procession, the consideration of which I shall presently enter into, confining myself, in the first place, to the particulars connected with the discovery of the ancient city of Tharros, in Sardinia, during an examination of remains made by the rev. canon Giovanni Spano, who has most obligingly forwarded to us a notice of his proceedings, as far as they have yet been made, the substance of which I have translated and condensed, so as to be submitted to your notice at this Congress.

It appears that in the month of April last, the canon Spano, in company with three advocates, G. Pietro Ena, Ant. Maria Spano, and N. Tolu Giud. Maud, of Cabras, set out to make excavations among what have been regarded as the ancient tombs of Tharros. The only work in which I have been able to meet with any allusion to this ancient city, is in my friend Capt. Smyth's interesting sketch of Sardinia, published in 1828, in which, however, occurs only the following notice:—

"To the north of cape San Marco, are the ruins of Tharros, a city of the early Greeks; where coins, cameos, terra-cotta vases, and gold ornaments have been frequently found. The present vestiges are too vague to form an idea of its former extent or respectability, as the city has been plundered to construct the adjacent villages, according to the voice of tradition, and the proverb that arose after the building of Oristano,—'portant a Carrus, sa perda de Tarrus'. The old square abbey church of San Giovanni de Sinis stands on the site, and close by it is a fountain, whence a small supply of fresh water may be obtained; to the north are the lagoons and fisheries of Sbirtus, with a boat communication with the port."—(p. 296.)

It is very remarkable that notices of Sardinia of an early period are so scanty, seeing the exceeding value of the island; for it is universally regarded, next to Sicily, as the most important of any in the Mediterranean. This being the case with regard to Sardinia itself, we cannot feel surprised that Tharros should be without its historian. The canon Spano has, however, unravelled the mystery, and it shall be my endeavour to lay before you, in as concise a manner as possible, the particulars of his researches.

The foundation of the city is unknown; it has been written Tharros, Tharro, and Tharræ; but on the military

columns that have been discovered, the name Tharros has been engraved; in that way, therefore, I shall write it, and the word itself would appear to be Phœnician or Egyptian. From the discoveries of Martini (*Nuove Pergamene d'Arborea*, vol. i), it appears that the earliest tribes of Sardinia were Phœnicians, who hither conducted various tribes from Canaan. "Et vos primum, ô Phœnices, qui invenistis insulam, atque postea conduxistis gentes et populos et Sidones et Thyrios et multos Ægyptios," etc.

The position of Tharros is inferred from the geography of Ptolemy and the Itinerary of Antonine, and also from a military column discovered by the General della Marmora at Cabras, in 1830, which marked the distance between Tharros and Cornus. The canon Spano is of opinion that Tharros was colonized from the east or from Africa, and underwent the same fate as all the other colonies, when Rome had reduced Sardinia to an imperial province. Claudian only speaks of the city of Solcis as a Punic colony. However that may be, before the arrival of the Carthaginians it had served as a station for the Phœnicians trading with southern Spain, who, having a secure station at Cagliari and Solcis, to the south, would likewise have profited by that of Tharros, to obtain for themselves, through its great gulf and natural advantages, a secure position to the west. The Carthaginians afterwards enlarged and embellished it; for blindly desirous of extending their dominion, they weakened their power by sending colonies to all the shores of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. Ultimately, their power was so established in Sardinia, that they obtained entire possession of it. (See Manno's *Storia di Sardegna*, lib. ii.) The Romans, however, jealous of that powerful nation, envied it the possession of an island from which they drew such important contributions. Their hopes of obtaining possession of it were raised by the defeat of the Carthaginian general, Hanno I, in the plains of Terra Nova, by L. C. Scipio, in the year of Rome 499. The struggle lasted for several years, during which time the Carthaginians disputed the possession of the island; finally, in 537, T. M. Torquatus extinguished the last support of Punico-Sardic liberty there, by the death of the two Carthaginian generals, Asdrubal and Hanno II, and also that of the Sardinian

prince Amsicorus, in the plain of Cornus. Tharros, it is therefore probable, must have been involved in the same fate as this city, being the nearest to it, although the historians make no mention of it. The canon Spano has in his possession a Spanish MS., in which it is conjectured that these two cities were *autonome* (self-governing), and that the prince of Cornus, by continual warfare, had overcome and destroyed Tharros.

Sardinia having thus become a Roman province, the conquerors proceeded to occupy these cities and introduce their own laws and language. The Roman ruins, the fragments of columns and statues remaining at Tharros are sufficient evidence of the high state of perfection it had reached in that brilliant epoch of Rome. Coins are discovered there from the date of the republic to the middle of the lower empire, towards the fourth or fifth centuries. Abandoned afterwards by the Greek emperors, and neglected by the African prefects who were appointed to the government of it, it became a prey to the barbarous Saracen hordes from Africa, who ravaged it. We have positive information that the Saracens made their first incursions into Sardinia at the beginning of the eighth century. This was first mentioned by Rampoldi (*Annali Musselmani*, tom. iii), and confirmed by the fortunate discoveries of the MSS. of Arborea, illustrated in 1846 by the chevalier Martini from a rare and valuable document, a pastoral in the Sardinian dialect, of the date of 740, in which is narrated the violent death of Felice, archbishop of Cagliari, which happened during a night attack between the Sardinians and Saracens, in which eighty only of the natives were killed, whilst on the side of the Moors one thousand five hundred were destroyed. From this it follows that these barbarians occupied the Sardinian ground for about twenty-eight years; their first invasions and devastations of the island having taken place about the year 712. In this pastoral, the bishop draws a dreadful picture of the manner in which the Saracens tormented the Christians, and destroyed all their sacred objects. They suffered martyrdom with resignation, and none denied their faith, being supported by the exhortations of their bishop, who animated and strengthened the faithful to fight against the enemies of the gospel and

its disciples. The pastors of the churches united with the judges, who, in Sardinia, were, till the decline of the seventh century (vide *Prima Pergamen*, p. 30), the leaders in this war, or rather in this first Sardinian crusade against the enemies of the faith; and as all the maritime cities and population were most exposed to their enemies through the facility of landing, so Tharros must have suffered equally with all the other towns, and experienced great changes and vicissitudes. From the eighth to the eleventh century, in which it was quite deserted, it suffered much more from the continued wars than the other cities, being exposed to two seas, and having an open roadstead. That during that period these countries and shores were infested by the Saracens is quite clear by two Cufic inscriptions seen at Terra Nova and Assemini, also in the church of Decimo, where, in the cornice of the presbytery, the name of the architect (probably converted to the faith) is written in Cufic characters. Moorish articles also have been found buried here and there, such as swords and coins: one most remarkable object was the corpse of a Saracen, discovered in 1846, in the neighbourhood of Senis, the description of which was given to the canon Spano by the present rector, Seb. Musu. Two abbasis[1] in silver were also found, and arms, bridles, silver buttons, and some utensils in bronze and silver arabesqued, all of which are now deposited in the royal Museum, having been purchased by the director, sig. Gaetano Cara. The canon Spano has also in his cabinet a ball of green fused glass having an Arabic inscription, *hgllun* (morbus), found in April last in a field adjacent to the great tower of Tharros, by Luighi Scalas.

Notwithstanding the formidable invasions of the Saracens lasted for full four centuries, Tharros was never deserted by its inhabitants. That it had been, during that period, a bishop's see, cannot be doubted; whilst history

[1] Abbasis, an Arabic money, of the value of about ninety centimes, so named from the Abbassides caliphs, descended from Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed. The inscription is in the Cufic or ancient Arabic characters: on the upper side, "In the name of God—this abbasis was struck in the year 189;" on the reverse, "Adel—in the name of God—by order of the servant of God—Harun—chief of the believers—may God glorify his victory;" the date is from the Hegira, which, being six hundred years after our era, is 789 A.D. In the canon Spano's cabinet are several of these abbasis, in bronze, of later periods, found in Solcis and Orosei.

informs us that in the second half of the eleventh century the judge Ottocore I, or Orzoco de Zori, with the bishop, being unable to resist the constant ravages of the Saracens, retired with the people into a more southern and safer situation, namely, to Oristano. From this it may be inferred that Tharros was still the seat of the judges of Arborea. No positive ecclesiastical information respecting Tharros has been obtained prior to the eleventh century, although the recent fortunate discoveries of the MSS. made known to us by the chevalier Martini, may be said to have dispersed the darkness of our ecclesiastical and civil history, from the eighth to the eleventh century.

From the epistles of St. Gregory the great, we learn that in the seventh century there were seven prelates, or bishops' sees, in Sardinia,—four are distinctly named,—those of Cagliari, Torres, Solcis, and Olbia, or Terra Nova. The other three are doubtful, not being mentioned in the epistles. Now, it may fairly be conjectured, that one of the three, instead of being Fordongianus, or Uselli, or Bosa, might have been Tharros, a civilized and populous town, situated in the west, in the midst of a fertile soil, with a magnificent gulf, in the centre of the ancient populous cities, between Neapolis and Cornus,[1] chosen especially as the seat of the rulers or judges of Arborea.

Vidali (*Clypeus Aureus*, Florent. 1641, p. 70), reports the names of forty villages, situated in the district of Tharros, called Sinis. The various ruins remaining there show that it was very populous, but it would appear impossible that so great a number could have existed in so limited a space, the greater part of which is occupied by large stagnant ponds. The canon Spano, however, conjectures that they may not have been there originally, which is indeed rendered probable, by the fact, that sometimes, at the bottom of the pond of Cabras, may be seen, in very fine weather, besides the Roman road, the foundations of many houses.

It is scarcely possible that Tharros should not have had its prelate, like Cagliari, Olbia, or Terra Nova, and Torres, while Fara, speaking of the church of St. John, which still exists there, calls it *sedes episcopi*, but as there have not yet been discovered documents upon which reliance can be placed, although we may hope still to meet with some

[1] Vide *Pergamena di Arborea illustrata.* Cagliari, 1846.

in the National Museum, that cannot be asserted as certain.

All the country, extending to the north and south of Tharros, is called Sinis. Previous to 1684 it was a prebend of the canonry of Oristano, when it was suppressed and the trifling revenue united to the abbey of St. Nicholas, of Trani, forming one benefice (see *Mart. St. Eccl.* tom. iii, p. 442). Sinis is a Phœnician word (*dente*), and in the neighbourhood of Hippo, in Africa, there still exists a castle called by the same name. The church of St. John, of Sinis, is situated at a short distance from the ancient city and the sea, in the territory of Cabras. This temple is of the massive and heavy Roman architecture, not later, perhaps, than the eighth century, erected, it appears, by the early Christians, with the stones from other edifices. Fara calls it *priscæ structuræ templum testudinatum.* It has three naves, with three plain arches, which rest on massive pillars, and sustain a cupola, pierced in the centre like the Pantheon, at Rome, and the temple of Venus, at Pozzuoli. The four pillars of the cupola have a space at the corners, showing they had been columns that had been removed. Many stones of the edifice are hollowed and worked, and show manifestly that they have been used in some other building and removed from thence. The sides and face of the walls are of squared block, a work so solid and strong that it might be called cyclopean; it is, however, very capacious, being, from the great gate to the centre, eighteen metres or fifty-four feet in length, and twelve metres or thirty-six feet in breadth. If the ancient Christian population of Tharros may be calculated from this church, one must infer that it was very numerous, being, especially, the bishop's see and seat of government. The solid architecture which distinguishes St. John, canon Spano considers, resisted the Saracenic fury, which every where overthrew chambers and altars (see the *Epistola Pastorale Sarda del Sec.* VIII: "Si non hazis ecclesias unde adorari su santu de sos santos ipsu coro vostru hat essiri altari ja qui ipsu Saracenu sacrilegu omne strumesit.")

The ancient city was built on the border of the sea, extending inwards to the south, embracing a declivity on the east which reaches from the great tower to the necropolis. No remains of the walls appear, but the circumference of the city, which extended along the eastern shore,

was not less than four Italian miles. From the size of the city, and vastness of the necropolis, the population at that time may be calculated to have been very great. All the city, from the banks of sand thrown up by the sea from the west, is covered, like Thebes and Carthage, with weeds and sand. In the eleventh century the population retiring to the modern Oristano, carried away the stones to employ them elsewhere, as is recorded by the proverb—

"They took the stones from Tarrus,
To build the city of Carrus."

This act of vandalism completed, they built the two great towers, which rise in the neighbourhood, with the materials of the city and the mole, and in modern times an immense quantity of the stones, which formed a part of those edifices, have been taken away to construct the bridges of the neighbouring fishponds and for the houses of the contractors.

There appears, however, on the eastern side, the ruins of some majestic Roman edifices, like dismembered giants, so dispersed that it cannot be imagined for what use they served. It is, however, clear that they were public buildings, either churches or temples; they are more than half buried in the sand, and the whole is of brick, so cemented as to defy the hardest instrument. Cornices of elegant workmanship are found—walls coloured in vermillion and striped, also cemented—mosaics—fragments of marble—which all show them not to have been private buildings. The fourteen columns of Parian marble and oriental granite of the church of Santa Giusta, prove its magnificence; besides which, two in the piazza, and one in the public way, were taken from this building. It is also extremely probable that the twenty granite and marble columns, which from the time of the destruction of the ancient cathedral remained totally neglected in the piazza of the new cathedral of Oristano, as well as the two in the court of the capital, and many other fragments and pavements taken by private individuals of Oristano and of the neighbouring villages, once belonged to this city. These columns were in the old cathedral or church of Oristano, which before being in the present style of 1733, was composed of five naves (unique in Sardinia), with pointed arches sustained by the before-mentioned columns, and built, regardless of expense, by the archbishop Tor-

ghitorio and the judge Mariano, in 1228. Fara calls it "Templum maximum, quadrato lapide, insignique structura constructum." Of the ancient church there now remains only the choir; behind the modern one a small cupola, which is worthy of, and would amply repay, an artist's visit; it manifests the magnificence of the ancient basilica of Arborea. The chapel of the Annunciation and Redemption even remain entire, with the side wall, on which exists, on the left, the marble monument of the canon Mameli, who is recorded to have died on the 8th of May, 1349. According to the canon Spano, the fatal desire for building in Sardinia has caused the wilful destruction of much which, pertaining to the church, ought to have been sacredly preserved.

But to return to Tharros. Clear traces of the Porta Cornuensis are to be observed towards the north, and for a short distance the road is seen paved with quarried stones, as employed by the Romans. In other places, where the wind has blown the sand away, vestiges of the wheel ruts are still evident. The width of the road was about three metres (nine feet) and runs from south to north in the direction of Cornus. A city so distinguished, so advanced in civilization and the arts, would not have been without its theatre and other public establishments; but they are probably buried beneath the banks, or rather mountains, of sand. It must be observed, that, in the late discoveries in April last, stage masks in terra cotta, and engravings alluding to theatrical scenes, were found. Up to the present time no perfect inscriptions have been met with, but fragments of inscribed stone have been found here and there, and amongst those some were of a good period and character. A few years since, an Egyptian symbol, a marble lion, appeared above the sand, and then disappeared, being covered by the moving sand, and its position has not since been discovered.

In the lower part of the isthmus are two wells, constructed with enormous masses of masonry, circular like those of Solcis, which appear to be rather of Carthaginian than of Roman structure. In the well called "del carro", so named because some years since a carriage in passing sunk into the sand, four crosses are seen cut in the four stones of the angle forming the edge, which, in the canon

Spano's opinion, were made by the Christians to redeem the well from some superstitious tradition derived from the heathens. The water is drinkable, and, even at a trifling depth, is limpid and clear, so that vessels send on shore to obtain it. It appears strange that in so narrow an isthmus, so close to two arms of the sea, the water should be so pure, the sea water not mingling with it: from which it may not improperly be inferred, that the water was conducted from a great distance by means of subterranean canals. The president Ena assured the canon Spano, that speaking in Cabras with the discoverer of this well, he acquainted him that, upon removing the sand, the water gurgled from a bronze pipe, which lay in the direction of Tramontano, a proof that the water was conducted from the territory of Sinis, and from the mountains of Seneghe. Both the wells are a metre (three feet) deep; the sand may be seen heaped up below; and above it there are two or three feet of water, from which level it scarcely ever deviates.

Fara, speaking of the city of Tharros, says, that in his time there was a most remarkable fountain: "Fons perennis dulces exhibens aquas." This perennial fountain is no longer visible, and probably is buried by the sand, as it would naturally be within the city. He could not have meant the wells, as he would have said "Fontes perennes"; besides which, the name of fountains is never given to wells, and, further, the Romans, in addition to the water of the public aqueducts, had wells in their houses, as may be seen in Solcis and Olbia. Another proof that water was conveyed by canal to this city is, the discovery of the head of a satyr, in marble, finely chiselled, which still holds in its mouth a piece of a leaden tube, through which the water was thrown into some receptacle or vessel for public use. This head was discovered by Luighi Scalas, chief magistrate of La Torre, in the ruins which surround the great tower, to which the city extended. They did not collect the rain water there, for there is no appearance of any tank or reservoir for that purpose, as seen in the hills of Cagliari; it must be concluded, then, that the water was conducted by a subterranean canal, all traces of which are lost. The city overlooked all the gulf of Oristano, and the sea to the

west. The original post was in the gulf facing the east, sheltered from the powerful and prevailing westerly wind. The mole was constructed of cyclopean masses of volcanic stones, brought from capo Frasca, which was opposite to capo Torres, now St. Mark, lying towards the south. The greater part of the mole is covered with sea-weed and the fallen ruins of the lofty edifices surrounding it. At the time of Vidali (*Clypeus Aureus*, p. 71) leaden aqueducts were to be seen in the part which conveyed the sewerage of the city into it, but which cannot now be seen on account of its being choked up with sea-weeds, which rise to a considerable height. The water was formerly of a considerable depth, and vessels of large size could anchor there, but now it is very shallow, being filled up with stones and sea-weeds. There are several oblong basins artificially formed excavated in the stone formerly the inner harbour, where the ships and galleys would remain securely. The canon Spano has not observed these basins in any other ancient port of Sardinia, neither in Solcis, Nora, nor Olbia, which are the principal maritime cities where any traces of ports are visible. They were convenient for the exporting of merchandise, and also for the repairing of vessels. The mole extended from the northern point of the city to the southern, an extent of about half an Italian mile, and the houses of the city formed a kind of amphitheatre round the mole. In the middle may be observed a large hewn stone, formed of the same rock, in the shape of a large altar; there is an oblong cavity in the centre of it, from which there are grooves issuing in all directions. At first sight, it appeared to the canon to be the pedestal of some statue, but on closer inspection he saw that it must have been a stone altar, upon which, he presumes, sacrifices were offered to some sea god, as Neptune, Portumnus, etc.; the cavity was to receive the blood, and the channels to convey it around.

The ancient necropolis of Tharros was situated on the Chersonesus, or on the promontory towards the east; it is a calcareous mountain, entirely covered with wrought tombs, which are oblong or cubical, of various dimensions, from six to ten palms in height and length. They are all flat-topped, so that the tallest man could stand upright in them. They are entered by a staircase, more or less

steep, cut in the rock, according to the depth of the tomb. The elevation varies, following the position of the hill, and the depth of the particular tomb. The aperture, or small door, of the tomb is either square or oblong, about half a metre in size, and of the same form as the Sardinian *norachi*. Placed against it is a stone, usually plain and simple, but some have been found in the form of a pyramid, others are gable roofed or cupola shaped, ornamented with various sculptures, cornices, etc., containing symbols in Egyptian style. There are also many tombs or sepulchres of another kind; they are parallelograms excavated in the rocks, about six feet in length and one and a half in breadth; they are afterwards covered with five or six stones, placed transversely and joined together; above them an immense stone, the same length as the sepulchre, was placed, carved at the four corners, and terminating in the centre in the form of a gable roof. The sides are sometimes sculptured in relievo, the subject of which appears to be the arms of the deceased, sometimes in festoons, or in the form of a cross, and divers other ornaments. The interiors of the tombs were just as they were left by the mason, without any finish, only the canon observed that wherever there were any fissures in the rock they were stuccoed or filled in with chalk or sand. Several of the tombs have one, two, or three niches squared or formed in arches, the use of which will be presently alluded to. At the time of Vidali, some fine sepulchres were to be seen, embellished with titles, in marble; in one of them was found the golden spurs *(aurea calcaria);* these sepulchres were doubtless Roman. The titles have been carried off, and probably the fragments of marble so frequently found belonged to them.

The modern necropolis or campo santo, the cœmeterium of the Christians, is in the neighbourhood of the church of St. John, dug in the earth and formed with tiles. Nothing has hitherto been found there but bones.

It is essential to distinguish between the Egyptian or African city of Tharros, and the Tarros of the Romans. In the tombs of the latter, which might be termed columbaria or pigeon houses, the bones of the dead were deposited in cinerary urns of earthenware and glass, as employed in the Roman colonies, where they were accustomed to burn

the bodies; and it is deserving of notice that in the necropolis of Tharros there is a Roman building which from its structure appeared to the canon Spano to have been the ustrinum, or place where they usually burned the bodies and afterwards gathered up the ashes.

In the tombs of the Egyptian or Carthaginian city of Tharros, the bodies were found placed in the funereal chamber with the feet almost all near the entrance, turned to the east. On opening the tombs, it is reported that there exhaled a sort of fragrance. In the midst of the fine sand, the bodies were seen reduced to a whitish and blackish dust, from which even the teeth could with difficulty be obtained. After the most careful examination, no remains of coffins or chests could be discovered; from which circumstance it may be inferred that the dead bodies were ranged in the bare earth, the objects most dear to them being placed around them, the respective instruments of art, or of warriors, their arms. There were also found carbonized remains round the bodies, but these perhaps were only of utensils belonging to the dead. These tombs contained two, three, four, or more bodies disposed in the order just named.

The canon Spano has given a distinct account of the examination of four of these tombs. In the first, upon the removal of the earth and stone from the entrance, he closely observed the manner in which the objects were laid. The tomb contained a single body, placed in the centre, and around it were five vases of various sizes. There were also three dishes or plates in the Egyptian style, saucer-shaped, one of which contained a lamp with two wicks, and a small vase, or very curious chalice, which had two plates attached to it, one below the other. In the funereal chamber there were two niches, in one of which, looking to the east, there was a *prefericulo*, a cup for offerings, and two lacrymatories, one of which, with enamelled figures, represented the head of a cat, between whose expanded jaws was seen a female divinity; also another curious vase, on which were painted two red eyes, which are placed within the mouth in lieu of the nose. Some similar to these were found in the excavations made at Senorbi in 1842, and a like one from Mora Arborea is in canon Spano's collection. There were also

some bronze buckles, hinges which had belonged to boxes, wooden tools which had become carbonized by time, and a scarabæus, with figures.[1] (See pl. xx, fig. 2.)

The second tomb was excavated close to the other, and in the middle of the wall of the other. It was Bisoma, or containing two bodies, perhaps husband and wife. There were sixteen vases placed around, four of which were oblong wine jars; two of them were broken, probably having fallen from the place where the other two were found. The others with seven plates were of different sizes. Amphoræ, præfericuli, pieces of bronze and carbonized wood were found amongst the sand, as in the former tomb. Upon the female body was a necklace of enamelled glass beads, and in the centre a scarabæus of green jasper with the representation of a boar or pig. (See fig. 3.) At the feet of the bodies there were twelve lastrinæ of ivory, pierced and carved at the edge, which had been used for some basket for perfumes or other precious things, and twelve small studs which had ornamented it. There were also two bronze ear-rings, a lady's ivory flute or lute, which terminated in a lion's paw, and a plate in which the dorsal spine of a fish, probably a mullet, a fish common in Oristano, still remains. The flute alluded to is one of those played upon by females, and called tibicines; whilst those performed upon by men are called tubicines (trumpeters). In an excavation made at Bonaria, a cinerary urn was found, having the representation of a girl with an ivory tibia, similar to the one observed by the canon Spano. In this tomb were also found a small armlet of white enamel, representing a monkey, and a large dish (a patella) in which there remains some vermillion—the cosmetic with which the eyebrows were painted red, to render the eyes more beautiful, or tinged the lips or cheeks of the dead. Lord Vernon discovered one of these dishes with cinnabar and also cerussa (carbonate of lead).

The third and fourth tombs were close together; the first

[1] The canon Spano is wrong in his conjecture as to the subject on this scarabæus being a representation of two priests engaged in the performance of one of the mysteries of Isis, for the figures are rather those of kings; but the image is not true Egyptian: it is Etruscan imitation of Egyptian, as the shape of the beetle shows; for the Egyptian scarabæus is more flattened on the upper part. (See my *History of Egyptian Mummies*, plate VIII.) The upper part of the engraved portion is doubtless intended for a representation of the winged globe.

1

2

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Etched by Carl Brudenbank

was discovered by striking the rock, which gave a hollow sound, and then, to save labour in finding the opening, the workmen split the rock and penetrated through the hole into the other. Two skeletons were in the first, and eighteen large and small jars round them. In the corner of this chamber, two oval wine jars were standing, as in the preceding tomb, and two others broken; by the side of the bodies, in one of these, was a large silver circle, jewelled, and precisely adapted to the mouth. Signor Cara is of opinion that this circle from its form was used with another metal covered with gold, in the possession of canon Spano, and which was used to hold up a lady's hair. The tutulus is seen on some medals and bassi relievi. The other skeleton had a necklace of amber beads and of carbonized wood, and an enamelled scarabæus with hieroglyphics, and here and there were bits of bronze, a dart and another instrument, probably a surgical one, according to the opinions of canon Spano and signor Cara. This chamber was the largest. In the contiguous tomb there were more skeletons, and scattered about were twelve jars and seven Egyptian dishes, and two lamps with double burners. In the sand were also fragments of bronze, an iron poniard, a white enamelled scarabæus with hieroglyphics, an oyster shell with cinnabar, a large silver ring, and other articles of less interest; lastly, there was found a highly finished two-handled cup.

Canon Spano was present at the opening of the tomb of apparently a rich lady, near to the preceding one, and in which was found a great variety of pottery. Upwards of ninety pieces were taken out daily during the excavations, without enumerating the broken pieces or others which were not collected together. Among the pottery was a remarkable lacrymatory, pierced and varnished black, crowned with the amaracus, or sweet marjoram (feverfew), a sacred plant like the laurel, and a prefericulo of glass, a necklace of enamelled beads with a scarabæus set in gold in the centre of it; another, of jaspar, representing a bull; two magnificent armlets or bracelets, and two anklets, twisted like a serpent, and terminating in the double head of a swan or other bird. They are composed of elastic bronze, so as to be capable of contracting and expanding, with the upper cylindrical plate of gold, in

a manner that would astonish the most skilful artist in that material. There was also an elastic gold ring, made in links, two armlets in enamel, representing a monkey encaged, and, as in the second tomb, four Carthaginian coins much oxydized. Among the jars was a remarkable amphora, in the inside of which, about half way down, attached to the sides, was a perfectly level ring, formed by the slow evaporation of the fluid which had been contained within it during the lapsed ages it had there remained.

The necropolis of Tharros was known to the shepherds and villagers who frequented its site; besides the objects casually found there, the rage for treasure-seeking was such, that they frequently combined for the purpose of excavating secretly, notwithstanding the general prohibition, and the neighbourhood of the king, Charles Albert. A regular excavation was made in 1838 by the marchese Scotti and the ex-Jesuit, P. Perotti; and another was executed by king Charles Albert, in 1842, under the direction of signor Cara. The canon Spano was unable to see all the objects met with, as they had been appropriated by the finders; some, however, fell into his hands, and are preserved. Several cinerary urns of glass were found in some columbaria or Roman tombs, and from others a great quantity of pottery was taken—more than three cart-loads; among which are, a cup (still containing some remains of conglomerated food), various small objects, scarabæi, necklaces, arms in bronze and iron, bosses of shields, and other fragments. In another and a deeper excavation, made under the inspection of Carlo Alberto, similar objects were found; they were embarked in a steamer, and conveyed to the king's private cabinet, where they now are; and from the drawings taken of them, canon Spano declares that they are mostly Roman, as shewn by the urns and coins. It is rarely that a Carthaginian tomb is found without some Punic money; the soil, the canon says, is full of money of all ages; on the border of the city, near the mole, while passing there, and stopping a few moments to examine the ground, he collected together twenty pieces of money, Punic and Roman. In one Carthaginian tomb, some Punic gold coin, and two earrings, in the shape of acorns, were found.

The latest discoveries have been made by lord Vernon in the course of March, this year. His lordship's excavations were eminently successful: from fourteen Egyptian sepulchres were extracted a great variety of scarabæi and other objects in gold, silver, bronze, and earthenware of many kinds. The canon Spano has, by the kindness of lord Vernon, examined many of these relics, and he particularly mentions an alabaster unguentarium, six gold rings, and a large golden earring, terminating with the winged cross of Isis, with a chalice and ibis of bronze, vase-shaped, such as he has in terra-cotta.

The surrounding villages, during these excavations, became so excited, that in April seven parties united to undertake further excavations. An incredible fury seemed to seize them, and impel them, for the lust of gold, to explore those sacred recesses, scattering the earth and stones in dire confusion. Upwards of five hundred men, in companies, occupied themselves, for more than three weeks, in this pursuit, when government issued an order to prohibit further spoliation. Not less than one hundred sepulchres were thus indiscriminately pulled to pieces, and their contents divided among the excavators. These were afterwards sold to the nobility of Oristano and the neighbourhood. Some found their way to the Royal Museum of Cagliari, and were purchased by signor Cara, whilst others were obtained by the canon Spano. Every peasant's house has been described as a museum of antiquities, from the number of objects amassed within, consisting of urns, glass vases, figures, lamps, dishes, images, necklaces, armlets, arms, and utensils of every kind. Not less than two hundred scarabæi have been extracted from the tombs of this neighbourhood, many of which are set in gold. Some of the gems are described as of the most exquisite character. Signor Spano found a pebble of oriental agate, in which was enclosed a cochineal or other red insect, and a butterfly, with the natural colours changed, perhaps from emerald, a most admirable bijou; upwards of one thousand talismans in paste, glass, and other materials, representing, in a variety of ways, the beneficent god, the evil spirit, and all objects of adoration appertaining to the water, and to the plants,

of the Nile. The canon Spano reports the jars and urns of earthenware, found in this vicinity, to be sufficiently numerous to decorate a large chamber, and says, that the variety of forms and colouring can scarcely be imagined; in which are represented the human face and animals, as frogs, birds, and others, with the mouth of a lion, dogs, etc. The glass found in the Egyptian sepulchres was ornamented with various colours all round, forming various devices, and cups and coloured vials deposited by the side of the skeleton. The urns and dishes of the Roman sepulchres were of yellow glass, and in large quantity, particularly the cinerary urns. From one sepulchre were taken ten gross, with two handles. In one of these, possessed by the canon Spano, the bones float in a reddish liquor. With these urns, found by Zedda, of Cabras, there was a beautiful variegated vase, and a saucer of alabaster, the lid of a kind of metal, apparently zinc, and near it a spindle, similar to one of ivory in the possession of the president Ena.

The Egyptian jars are of great excellence; these, and the dishes, are figured like the Etruscan vases, representing sacrifices, animals, arabesques, etc., all in the same colour *(monocromo)*. The ground of this brittle clay is of a blackish glaze, whilst all round the same vase is of reddish earth. The drawings are exact, and required great ability in the painter to trace the outlines quickly, and with a single touch, as on account of the moistness of the earth he could make no alteration or change of any kind. There is no reason, canon Spano thinks, to doubt this being a national manufacture, as the furnaces are fixed, with the earth prepared, from some of which sig. Paolo Spano made some imitations, which proved of the same colour. The chevalier Carta has an urn of carbonate of lime, with the same green glazing as is now given to the Sardinian jars with galena (sulphate of lead). Much of the pottery is petrified *(agatizzata)*; it is the first time canon Spano has seen such a varnish, like some disks of granite and sand polished, forming flowers and representing various games, possessed by general De Arcais and the chevalier Spano.

The Roman jars have at the bottom the impression of the potter in abbreviated letters. Four large ones have

impressions on the handle, in Greek characters, of the taking of Artemisium.

The quantity of gold found in these researches is remarkable; rings, bracelets, earrings, bandeaux to fasten the hair with, ornaments for the head and clothes, amulets of various forms, connected with the principal divinities, Thoth, Isis, Kneph, and others, worshipped in Egypt. The city must have been very wealthy, and it appears as if the Phœnicians deposited all the gold there they had transported from Spain. The most singular discovery, however, is to be found in the gold case and plate mentioned at the commencement of this paper.[1] Although every tomb of this period contained some amulet or image of an ancient Egyptian divinity, no stone, with inscription, has yet been found positively to fix its Punic or Phœnician character, and to mark the period when Egyptian rites may have been introduced, as at Nirra and at Solcis, yet a very fine cup was found, in 1842, by signor Busachi, of Oristano, now in the possession of the canon Spano, at the bottom of which there is the impression of the potter in Phœnico-Punic characters.

[1] To render the representation, a fac-simile of which is given in plate xx, fig. 1, intelligible, would be a matter of difficulty, if not, in the present state of our Egyptian knowledge, impossible. Much must of necessity be left to conjecture. The figures of the gods, which occur therein, are not sufficiently distinct to enable us to discover who they are with any degree of certainty; not that they are badly copied, but that those metal plates generally give the figures very indistinctly. They bear a resemblance to some of the subjects on Egyptian funereal monuments, and also to the rites relating to Osiris, as represented in late Egyptian temples. But even these, if clearly drawn, would be difficult to explain; they are exceedingly mysterious, and I fear are likely to continue so much longer. To those who feel interested in this subject, and are able and disposed to devote much time to the examination, I would recommend a reference to the representations in the tombs of the kings; to the Osiris chamber at Philœ; to the late Dr. Young's large plates, published by the Royal Society of Literature; to Mr. Burton's *Excerpta Hieroglyphica;* to Belzoni's plates; to Mr. Hoskins' work on the Oasis, plates VI, VII, VIII; and to Dr. Lepsius's *Book of the Dead.* These, with the assistance of sir Gardner Wilkinson's invaluable publications on ancient Egypt, might, probably, enable the patient investigator to unravel the subject with some degree of satisfaction. It is out of my power to devote sufficient time for the research, and rather than offer conjectures which are floating in my mind, I hold it safer to content myself by simply saying that the whole procession, depicted on the lamina of gold, found at Tharros, is decidedly Egyptian in its character and purport, in which opinion I am confirmed by the authority of sir Gardner Wilkinson. It is not a little remarkable that at Malta, where we know the Phœnicians established a colony, and erected temples to Isis and Osiris, and thus, apparently, worshipped Egyptian gods as well as their own, a similar gold case was dug up in the island, containing a lamina of gold rolled up, and covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics, as stated by a late author (vide Margoliouth's *Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers,* vol. i, page 192).

That Tharros was an isolated and independent colony, where the Egyptian religion was preserved and its rites practised, would appear from its truly Egyptian remains; the scarabæus, the most familiar of Egyptian emblems, is found *there and there only*, in innumerable varieties of form and substance. One of a large size, in basalt, is in the Royal Museum of Cagliari. No one has, however, been found in metal. The Egyptian deities, animals, and other objects, are found in great quantities, and tend to support the same opinion. I must close this notice by observing that it is the intention of the canon Spano to publish a work, with representations of the various relics to which I have referred, and I am sure that in so doing he will be rendering a great service to archæology.

ON AN EARLY MOSAIC IN ST. MARK'S, REPRESENTING THE REMOVAL OF THE BODY OF THE EVANGELIST TO VENICE.

BY SIR GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S., VICE-PRESIDENT.

Among the many interesting records connected with Venetian history, preserved in the mosaics of St. Mark's, is one which is particularly deserving of notice, as it relates to the original foundation of that building, and to the adoption of St. Mark as the patron saint of Venice.

The Christians of Alexandria had preserved the body of the evangelist in the magnificent church dedicated to him in that city; and the miraculous cures believed to be performed by it attracted many devout persons to the tomb; but the sanctity of Christian churches was not always respected by the Moslems; and the lieutenant of the caliph, who governed Egypt for the Abbaside prince, El Mamóon, being engaged in building a palace in Alexandria, or, as others say, having received orders to send marbles and columns for the caliph's palace at Bagdad, was not scrupulous in his mode of obtaining materials for its embellishment. The story related in the histories of

Venice dignifies the governor with the title of "king"; and one chronicle describes him under the strange name of "the emperor John the Armenian"; all, however, agree that the removal of the body of St. Mark to Venice took place during the dogeship of Giustiniano Partecipazio, about 828 A.D., and that it was "the only event of importance which graced the reign of that obscure and sickly prince".

Many churches of Alexandria having been despoiled, and rich marbles being daily carried off by command of the Moslem governor, the priests who had charge of the sanctuary of St. Mark, Theodorus and Staurgius, foresaw that, from its well-known richness, their church would not long escape the general spoliation. Two Venetian vessels happened at the time to be in the port of Alexandria, and one day as the captains (one called, in the Venetian histories, Buono of Malamocco, the other, Rustico of Torcello) paid their usual visit to the patriarchal church, they perceived the downcast looks of the priests, and on inquiring the reason, were told of the impious proceedings of the Moslems, and of the apprehensions they felt for their own church. The captains endeavoured to console the holy men; but hearing them confess that the place would no longer be a safe asylum for the precious relics, they bethought themselves that the opportunity was favourable for obtaining possession of the body of the saint. They began to tempt their fidelity by many flattering offers, promising them the highest favours on the part of the republic; but the priests fearing to commit a sacrilege, refused their assent; until one day, as the Venetian captains were repeating their request, a number of workmen, headed by the governor's agents, entered the church, and proceeded to remove many valuable marbles and columns for the use of the new palace. The sight of this outrage induced the priests to yield to persuasion; and by adroitly substituting the body of St. Claudian they prevented the Christian devotees from perceiving the removal of the more holy relic. The most difficult part, however, remained to be done, which was to guard against discovery while transporting the body to the Venetian ship; and as every thing on leaving the town was (according to long established custom) most rigorously examined, it

became necessary to adopt some stratagem for eluding the vigilance of the Moslem guards of the port. The priests and the two captains, therefore, having deposited the body in a large *basket*, and covered it with fresh grass, overlaid the whole with a quantity of pork; well knowing that the sight of this would deter the most rigid inquirer, and having given orders that the sailors who helped to carry it should cry, as they traversed the streets, "Khanzéer! khanzéer!" "pork! pork!" they were enabled to reach the ship without molestation. Still another scrutiny awaited them from the custom-house, before leaving the port; the sight of the unclean meat, however, once more released them from examination;—the Moslems shrank back with horror, and quickly put off again in their boat for the shore. And now, to prevent further inquiry, the body was enveloped in a sail until the moment of departure; and on the first favourable wind the ship left the port with its precious booty. But they had scarcely reached the open sea when a storm overtook the Venetians; they were driven back from their course, and they only owed their safety to the miraculous interposition of the saint, whose advice to the captain Buono enabled them to avoid shipwreck on the rocky coast.

According to the popular belief, a tradition had been current ages before at Venice, how St. Mark himself, while sailing along the coast of Aquileia, had touched at the islands where the city afterwards stood, and had heard a voice proclaim to him in a vision, that one day his bones should repose in one of those yet uninhabited spots; and a proportionate degree of joy is said to have been manifested when the Venetians witnessed the fulfilment of the prophecy:—the people all exclaimed that "Heaven protected the republic!" songs, prayers, and invocations to the saint resounded on all sides, beseeching him to take the city under his protection; and a grand ceremony was held to welcome the landing of the holy relics. All the dignitaries of the state marched bare-foot to the quay to receive them, and, with great solemnity, they were deposited in the chapel of the ducal palace. The two captains who had made this precious acquisition for the republic were loaded with presents, and conducted in triumph through Venice; and the doge Partecipazio dying soon after, bequeathed

a large sum of money for the foundation of a church worthy to receive the body of the saint, whose transfer to Venice had reflected so much honour on his reign.

Such is the general account in Darù, and other writers. It is repeated by Lecomte in his *Venezia*, and the chronicler he quotes (who wrote in the fourteenth century), defends himself from the accusation of having invented the story, by saying that a painting in the church of St. Mark existed in his time, commemorating the scene he describes. This painting is the mosaic here represented. For though the subject is noticed by several writers on Venice, the mosaic they mention is not of early time, but is that on the façade of St. Mark's, described by Lecomte "on the right, in the lower division", copied from the designs of Pietro Vecchio, and dating only two centuries ago, about A.D. 1650; and all the mosaics on the façade were executed after the fifteenth century, except that which represents the church itself, which is the only one figured in the great picture of Gentile Bellini, painted in 1496. The old and original mosaic is in the interior of the church, and occupies one side of the dome, above the organ gallery; and the reason of its being seldom seen is, that the gallery is kept locked, except on fête days, and the organ effectually screens it from the view of those below. It appears to date between 1000 and 1071.

The cathedral of St. Mark was first begun in 829-830, at the death of the doge Giustiniano Partecipazio. Its site had till then been occupied by the small church of St. Theodore, the original patron saint of the city, whose statue on one of the two columns in the Piazetta, still records the honours he received at Venice; and the position close to the ducal palace, which had just been founded, was thought particularly suited to the new cathedral. It was nearly finished, when, in 976, a fire reduced it to ashes, and a finer building was then projected. Artists were sent for from Constantinople, and the bishop of Venice laid the first stone in the presence of the doge, Pietro Orseolo, in 977. It was finished in 1071, though the embellishment of the building continued for many centuries, during which time all kinds of precious marbles were collected from various countries visited by that commercial people; and a law was passed that all ships

trading with the Levant should bring back columns, marbles, or any monuments that might tend to beautify the church of St. Mark. (*D'Agincourt*, vol. ii, p. 154.)

The representation of the removal of the body of the saint (see plates XXI and XXII) in the old mosaic, agrees very well with the accounts given in the histories of Venice; it only differs in the name of one of the captains, who is called Tribunus instead of Bonus; for Tribunus and Rusticus, as well as the two Alexandrian priests, "Theodorus the presbyter" (or priest), and Staurgius the monk", figure more than once in the picture. On the left of the upper part is the town of Alexandria, indicated by an archway having the name "ALEXANDRIA" within it; above the colonnade, representing the church, is this line: MARCVM FURANTUR, KANZIR HII VOCIFERANTUR"; and the priests, with the two captains, are engaged in removing the body of the saint from its coffin. Beyond, to the right, the latter are seen carrying it away in the *basket*, and each has his name inscribed above.

In the lower part (see plate XXII), to the left, stand the Moslems of the port of Alexandria, who appear to have sent their boat to examine the ship's cargo; and the same exclamation of "KANZIR! KANZIR!" is written over the sailors who assisted the captains in carrying the body on board. The sudden retirement of the Moslems to their boat on finding the pork is also portrayed, to which the inscription above makes allusion: "CARNIBUS ABSCONSUM QUÆRUNT, FUGIUNTQUE RETRORSUM"; and the final concealment of the body in a sail is also represented. On the right, stand the priest Theodorus, and the monk Staurgius, who are thereby shewn not to have accompanied the captains to Venice, nor is any reference made to the quantity or quality of their rewards. The expression, "MARCUM FURANTUR", suffices to show that there was then no scruple in admitting that the body was "stolen"; though some Venetians, in later times, have thought fit to deny that fact, and have attempted to justify the proceeding in the same manner as captain Tribunus and his companion, by urging the necessity of securing for it a safer asylum at Venice, since not a stone now remains to mark the site of the once rich and spacious church of St. Mark at Alexandria.

∴ MARCVM FVRANTVR. KANZIR. hIl VOCIFERANTVR

CARNIBˢ ABSCONSV̄ QVERVNT FVGIVNTQ-RETRORSV̄
KANZIR KANZIR
TRIBVNˢ RVSTICˢ
STAVRGIVS THEODOR
MON̄
PB̄R

The festival commemorating the removal of the body, and its transfer to Venice, was kept up till a late time; and annually, on the 31st January, a solemn mass was performed, when the doge and the signory were always present, and all Venetians united in the praise of their patron saint, with a firm persuasion that "divine interposition" had enabled them to obtain those relics, which had contributed so much to the glory and the welfare of the republic.

REPTON CHURCH AND PRIORY.

BY ARTHUR ASHPITEL, ESQ., F.S.A.

The pleasure of antiquarian research, particularly into those matters which relate to architecture, is ever attended —as are most of the things which delight us—by some care. The fear that, after the most lengthened inspection, the most accurate comparison, the most careful measurements, the most laborious research among books and manuscripts, some little circumstance may have been overlooked, some short passage unnoticed, or some unusual character mis-read, gives anxiety and care to what otherwise is, to an educated mind, the most delightful as well as useful and instructive of human pursuits. It is for this reason we so frequently complain of the short period that has been allotted to our labours, and we wish we had had more time to bestow upon them; not from habits of procrastination or irresolution, not by the way of excuse for the little we have collected, nor to form a graceful exordium to our address, but simply because we dread there is yet something behind we have not seen—some valuable fruit we have not plucked. But when, as in my own case, I explain that my time has been too short in every sense, as I understood this task would have been undertaken by another member, and when I witness the expectation of such a learned and distinguished body as I now see before me, I trust you will understand how much anxiety I must feel from the reasons I have assigned,

and hope that any error I may make will meet with kind excuse and gentle criticism.

I feel it the more, as this building is far more curious and interesting than I had at all anticipated; and as its investigation must lead to the discussion of theories the most important and as yet uncertain in this branch of archæology. It is to be regretted that they have been discussed with much prejudice, hastiness, and acrimony. Some of the greatest men have been arrayed on each side of the question—the arguments on both parts are of the greatest weight—and I could almost reproach myself with presumption for attempting it to-day; but it is my intention to endeavour to enter upon the subject as a calm inquirer, and if I can add anything to the facts, or throw any light upon the dark corners of the case, I shall congratulate myself on having added my mite to the most interesting branch of architectural archæology.

The history of the foundation of this religious house is necessarily obscure, as all documents seem to have perished at the dissolution. It could not, of course, have existed before the conversion of the kingdom of Mercia to Christianity. This happy event commenced about A.D. 653. Peada, the fifth king—son of the warlike Penda—became attached to Alcfleda, daughter of Oswco, king of Northumberland, and having been instructed by her in the doctrines of the Christian religion, he was baptized, and married the princess.[1] Peada brought from Northumberland with him four priests, to assist in the work of conversion; one of whom, Diuma, was consecrated the first bishop of Mercia, and died in 655, and was buried "in regione quæ vocatur Infeppingum". This has been conjectured, with considerable show of reason, to be the ancient name of Repton, which is variously given—as Rependun, Rependune, Hreopendun, and Rippington. If this conjecture be correct, this church must have been founded at that time, and probably was the first Christian church in Mercia. Our first positive notice of its existence as an ecclesiastical building is found in the celebrated *Liber Eliensis*,[2] where it speaks incidentally of Adulph, the

[1] Ven. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii, cap. 21.

[2] Lib. i, cap. 6. "Post quem Annæ regis filius frater videlicet, virginis Etheldrethæ, de quo jam diximus regnum suscepit Aldulphus, cujus filia Ædberga in Rependuna abbatissa famulo Dei Guthlaco sarcofagum plumbeum, lintheumque transmisit, quo

king, whose daughter, Ædberga (or, as it varies in the copies), Æthburga, or Redburga, was abbess of Rependune, and who sent to Guthlac (afterwards canonised) the somewhat sombre gift of a leaden coffin and a linen shroud. The same facts are given in Leland,[1] where he calls the lady Edburga. It must be with no small pride that the present inhabitants of the noble country that was once the kingdom of Mercia can regard an origin dated 1200 years back. It will be for us to consider, presently, whether any part of the building be of that remote, most remote, antiquity; if it be so, we have here, probably (now that it seems likely that the whole of St. Martin's at Canterbury has been rebuilt), the oldest church remaining in England, not excepting, perhaps, portions of the crypts at York.

The next mention we have of Repton, is also preserved by Leland,[2] where he states, that Guthlac entered the monastery at Rependune, and then received the tonsure and clerical habit under the abbess Alftrytha. The town and monastery seem now to have arisen to great importance. The latter, in particular, seems to have become the Westminster Abbey of Mercia. Leland has preserved records,[3] that St. Wistan, the son of one of the kings of Mercia, was buried there; at that time, he says, "a famous monastery", and that afterwards his bones were translated to Evesham. In 755, the Saxon Chronicle tells us that the warlike Ethelbald, who was killed treacherously by one of his own chiefs at Seccandune, was buried there. In 781 (according to Tho. Rudborne),[4] Kynechard, the

idem vir Dei post obitum locaretur et circumdaretur." I quote from the excellent edition published by the "Anglia Christiana" Society.

[1] Leland, *Collect.*, i, p. 190.

[2] *Collect.* ii, p. 278.

[3] *Collect.* ii, 264, "tunc temporis famoso monasterio".

[4] *Ang. Sac.* i, 196. See also Leland, *Coll.* vol. ii, p. 157. "Corpore pausans (ut fertur) Reopendunæ monasterium olim satis nobile, conversationibus virorum insignium et sanctimonialium fœminarum, qui locus secundum ejus etymologiam non tacere videtur regis excellentiam, sonat enim manipulus montis."

I confess I was obliged to acknowledge how dark and puzzling a passage this is; and how difficult to see the connexion between the "handful of a mountain" and the "excellency of the king". But our learned president, sir Oswald Mosley has since informed me that there is a little hill near Repton, on the top of which tradition states the kings of Mercia were exhibited to the people, and proclaimed previous to their coronation. If we consider this hill to bear some analogy in point of respect and royal veneration that the seat of a bishop or cathedra has, we may see some reason for this remark of Leland. I hope the learned president will favour us with some more remarks on the subject. Since this, our learned secretary Mr. Planché has suggested that the "handful of a mountain" may probably have reference to the "orb or mound" which kings hold in their hands at their coronation.

brother of Sigebright, king of Wessex, was also interred there, as well as Meruuell, of whom he says, "the body rests as they say at Repedune, a monastery formerly sufficiently noble for the residence of celebrated men and holy women: which place, according to its etymology, seems not to be silent as to the excellency of the king, for it seems to signify [sounds] the [manipulus] of a mountain."

We get no more mention of Repton till 879, when the struggle took place between the king of Mercia and the Danes, who expelled from his kingdom Burrhed. He retired to Rome, where he died. The Danes occupied the towns and wintered there, and, according to Ingulf, then destroyed the monastery.[1] It seems curious that Matthew of Westminster, the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, and Roger of Hovenden, all of whom describe the occupation of the town by the Danes, should be silent as to the destroying the monastery. Ingulf alone relates its ruin, and designates it "as the most celebrated monastery, the most holy mausoleum, of all the kings of the Mercians". From all these combined testimonies, we must have the highest character of the sacredness of the monastery, which then appears to have been an institution both for monks and nuns, but under the chief rule of an abbess. Whatever destruction the Danes may have made, it is clear the church was not destroyed, or if destroyed, it was immediately rebuilt. For the Domesday book says, "In Repundune and Middletune, earl Algar has six carucates, etc. etc. Here is a church and two priests with one carucate of land."

This is all we hear of the building till 1172, when, from a charter in the possession of the Ferrers family, we read, that "Ranulf, called Gernons, earl of Chester, died the 17th of the kalends of January, in the year 1153, the eighteenth of king Stephen, which Ranulf took to wife Mathilda, daughter of Robert earl of Gloucester, which said Mathilda founded the priory of Repindune, in the year of the Holy Trinity, 1182, the eighteenth year of Henry II, which Mathilda died the 4th of the kalends of August, 1189." It appears, that eleven years previously, this lady had

[1] Matth. West. p. 168, annis 874-875; Ingulf, p. 26, sub anno; Chron. Sax. idem; Ethelwerd, idem; Roger Hoven. apud Leland, ii, 179.

founded a priory for Austin canons, at Calk; and that, in truth, she removed them to Repton, leaving Calk as a small monastery or cell to Repton. We learn this from a charter preserved by the Harpur family, of Calk, and copied by Dugdale in 1664. It is addressed to Walter, bishop of Coventry, and concedes to the priory at Calk very large possessions, among them all the cultivated land of the "quarrera" of Rependune-on-Trent, with the advowson of the church of St. Wistan at Rependune; but on condition that the convent there shall be the head, and that, as soon as fit opportunity should arrive, Calk should only be a member thereof, and remain in its diocese. The charter is confirmed by another of Hugh, earl of Chester, without date. It appears from some documents cited by Morant,[1] in his *History of Essex*, that Matilda also gave to Repton the advowsons of Great and Little Baddow, in that county.

But little now is extant referring to the history of the building, although there are numerous casual notices scattered through the different MSS. in the British Museum. In the Harleian MS. 2044,[2] we find that sir William Patrick granted an income of two hundred shillings per annum, arising from one of his mills, and shortly after the prior of Repindune brings an action against his successors for the amount, and the marginal note says he triumphed[3] over them. We also read of several gifts of land, *pro salute animæ*, at different periods.

At last the storm that had been so long gathering burst on the monasteries, and Repton was seized by the king, its moveable possessions sold by the commissioners, and the land granted to the Thacker family. I hold in my hand a long and very curious list[4] of all the goods thus appropriated, including the sum of 122*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* which the list says had been embezzled by two of the monks, willing, no doubt, to save what they could out of the fire. The buildings seem to have consisted of a church, containing the chapels of St. John, Our Lady, St. Nicholas, Our Lady of Pity, and St. Thomas; a vestry, a cloister, chapter

[1] Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, ii, 20, says, Maud, daughter of Robert earl of Gloucester, and wife of Robert De Gernons, gave the advowson of Great Baddow, anno 1172, to Repington, and, infra, says the same thing of Little Baddow.

[2] Harl. MSS. 2044, 82 v°.

[3] "Triumphavit de eo."

[4] Given in the Appendix.

house, dortour, fratery, hall, buttery, prior's chamber, inner chamber, gardyn chamber and another next to it, the hall chamber, the high chamber, the kitchen, larder, brew-house, ale-house, boulting-house, and kiln-house; the total value of all moveable goods therein amounting to 162*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*

Our next mention of the priory is in old Fuller, who relates, in his *Church History*, on the authority of his cousin Roper of Lincoln's Inn, that Thacker being possessed of Repingdon abbey, in Derbyshire, and being "alarmed with the news that queen Mary had set up the abbeys again (and fearing how large a reach such a precedent might have), upon a Sunday (belike the better day the better deed), called together the carpenters and masons of that country, and plucked down in one day (church work is a cripple in going up, but rides post in coming down) a most beautiful church belonging thereunto, saying he would destroy the nest for fear the birds should build there again."

It now remains for us, from these combined records, to examine the work, and endeavour, if possible, to fix its date.

I have already adverted to the tone in which some disquisitions on this subject have been carried on, and deprecated for myself any bias or intention to pervert the facts or draw any inferences that are not fair. I can hardly wonder that some harsh things should have been said on one side. A short time back, one single and simple canon was laid down, and will be found printed in some of the early volumes of the *Archæologia*—any circular arch was (*ex cathedrâ*) Saxon, every pointed arch Gothic. Now, for any man who could read a Latin charter, to be told that the cathedral of a bishopric founded nearly a hundred years after the conquest, or a church built by one of Henry II's court, was Saxon, was rather too much; and when investigation after investigation showed that hundreds of most decided Norman examples had been registered as the works of the kings of the Heptarchy, it is not to be wondered at that the critics of the period grew hasty, and were disposed to knock down the Saxon advocate without much inquiry: and this has literally been the case lately. Still all literary men should "agree

to differ": and I regret to say there is a sort of bigotry, a species of fanaticism in theories as well as other matters; and I must deprecate in my investigation the criticism of those who give hard names instead of arguments, and who, on expostulation, meet you with "Stand by, I am wiser than thou!" Our reasonings must be in great part analogies, in great part conjectural. It is only by comparing fact with fact, and inference with inference—it is only by a slow process of inductive reasoning, that we can arrive at anything like the truth. For nearly four hundred years the Romans ruled in Britain. How carefully have all their remains been examined; with what pleasure we investigate their pavements; trace their hypocausts; admire the extent of their villas; wonder at their amphitheatres. A spirit of candid criticism seems to pervade the whole of this investigation. But how differently are the memory and the works of the ancient Anglo-Saxons treated by their descendants. It appears to be the pride of some critics to forget that their ancestors ruled England for between four and five hundred years in wealth and prosperity, with almost superstitious feelings in religion, and with a literature not perhaps very refined, but certainly anything but irreligious:—and yet that they did not build one church that remains to us, though hundreds which were confessedly commenced some twenty years after their dynasty had expired, have stood now nearly eight hundred years, and are likely to stand eight hundred more, while their seniors by a dozen years are supposed to have vanished long ago—*tenues secessit in auras.* The two great errors among architectural critics have been these: they have formed two distinct sections—the draughtsman and the black-letter man; the two qualities are very seldom united in one person. The consequence has been, each party has brought preconceived notions to the field; and while one has laughed at the charter or chronicle as contradicting his views, the other has extended its evidence, and made it invade territories it never was entitled to possess.

Thus, while I have heard many claim a building as a Saxon church, whilst we have evidence of a first-rate chronicler that the Saxon building stood to the south, and was fairly pulled down when the new Norman building

was finished on the north side, I think we ought to see whether the medal has not in some cases a reverse. For instance, I read that Waltham Abbey was built by Harold,[1] who was interred there after his death; that the conqueror deprived the monks of their wealth; that they got on as well as they could till the restoration of the Saxon line, when quite another school of architecture was in vogue; and yet I see, in a most respectable publication, this most unlikely criticism:—"Waltham, no doubt, built by Harold; yet the present church appears to be early Norman." The inference is, that the monks, who at the time had not a groat to spare, pulled down a new church to build another new church on its site, of just the same size and style. Let us look at St. John's at Chester: we read that was the original cathedral church, and was completely renewed by Leofric, earl of Chester,[2] about six or eight years before the conquest. Our next architectural annal is, that a fire occurred early in the thirteenth century. We see the architecture of two periods instantly, the one early English work, and we see an older work which has stood at least eight centuries, and is likely to stand eight more. Is it absurd then to take a stand on the written document, and doubt whether the elder part be not Saxon work? Again, let us look at Pershore: there we have record that the old abbey, founded by Edgar,[3] was burnt down, and that it was rebuilt, and public service commenced in it in the year 1002, only sixty-four years before the Norman conquest—a very great age for a Regent's Park cottage, but a mere babyhood for the noble fabrics erected at that time. Well, the next item in the Chronicles, which have been carefully preserved by Leland, relating to the architecture, is that part of it was burnt in 1223. We enter the building and see two periods of work in a moment—one clearly early English, another earlier. What is the earlier? Are we to believe the Chronicles, or to say, "No; there was some spell about the Norman invaders; they pulled down all churches, new or old, and rebuilt them in precisely the same style, just for the pleasure of doing so?" In the case of Pershore, there

[1] See Registr. de Waltham, Cott. MSS., Tib. C. 9; also Dugdale, in loco; Chron. Angl. Norm. apud Michel, etc.

[2] Lel. *Collect.* ii, 59 et seq.

[3] Lel. *Collect.* i, 283.

is a strong argument they would *not* do so, as we learn that they were in a state of great poverty, the larger part of their property having been transferred to the new Abbey of Westminster by the Confessor, and after him by the Conqueror. Surely they who rely so strongly on the Chronicles in the cases of Ely, St. Alban's, and Westminster, will allow us common sense if we pause over them in other cases. Let us remember there was no sudden departure in style. The Normans were men of the same race and the same religion. We must not look for such changes as we see in India, where the mosque marks the advent of the Mussulman, and the church the rule of the Englishman, while the old Hindoo temple stands by with its *own* distinctive features. Both Norman and Saxon must have had one common stock, the original Roman; and the later departure from even that style was not so great, but there necessarily must have been great similarity between them.

Some writers have cut the knot instead of untying it, and said boldly that the Saxon churches were all of wood, like the little church of Greensted, in Essex; and they quote from the charter of king Edgar (A.D. 973), given by William of Malmesbury,[1] in which he states his intention of "rebuilding all the holy monasteries in the kingdom, which are visibly ruinous with mouldering shingles and worm-eaten boards, even to the rafters." But though a great many buildings might have been of wood, we have positive proof that for many years a great many had been built of stone. Exactly five hundred and one years before the conquest, the church of St. Martin, at Whitehorn, was built, says Bede,[2] of stone, an unusual method among the Britons. In 627,[3] Paulinus built a large and noble church of stone at York, and, in the next year, a stone church, of beautiful workmanship, at Lincoln. In 652,[4] Saint Finan built the church at Lindisfarne. "Nevertheless", says Bede, "he made it after the manner of the Scots, *not* of stone, *but* of hewn oak." Surely this exception, "after the manner of the Scots", would prove rather that the manner of the English was different. In

[1] Gul. Malmes. *de Gest. Reg. Ang.* p. 32.
[2] Bedæ *Hist. Eccles.* iii, c. 4; see also Gul. Malmes.
[3] Ibid. ii, c. 14.
[4] Ibid. iii, c. 25.

655,[1] the monastery of Medehamstede was begun of "most immense stones." In 660, Lastingham[2] was built of stone. A few years after, we meet with a curious passage in Bede, who states that Benedict Biscop was about to build the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and that he crossed the sea, and brought back with him masons to build him a church "in the Roman style", which he always admired. He also brought with him makers of glass, who taught their art in Britain, which had not been known there before. It would weary you to run through all the recorded cases of *stone* churches for the next four hundred years preceding the conquest: suffice it to say, that in 674[3] we first meet with the expression "polished stone", as used at Ripon and Hexham. Within the last century preceding the conquest, Ely,[4] Peterborough, London, Westminster, Winchester, Worcester, the White Church at Durham, Bury St. Edmund's, St. Mary's Coventry, Stow, Wenlock, Leominster, Aldborough, Spalding, Gloucester, Pershore, Waltham Abbey, and many more, no doubt, which I have not had time to reckon, were built, and almost all these of stone. So much for the sweeping assertion that the Saxons did not, and could not, build stone churches.

The arguments relative to Saxon and Norman architecture have been something like those of Zeal-of-the-Land-Busy, in Ben Jonson's inimitable comedy, where the two disputants keep on for a quarter of an hour—"It is!" "It is not!" "It is!" "It is not!" each person maintaining his own ideas, but giving marvellous little evidence for what he says. Let us endeavour to get some proof *aliunde*, and not rely too much on our own notions.

First, let us examine several arguments that have been used which do not seem to me to be conclusive. We are told that Saxon work is much rougher than Norman, and is not ornamented. This may be so to some degree, but

[1] Hugo Candidus, apud Leland, i, p. 3. He says some of the stones were so large that eight yoke of oxen could scarcely draw them.

[2] Bedæ *Hist. Eccl.* iii, c. 23. Let me also add that William of Malmesbury, lib. i, cap. 3, A.D. 690, says, "For very rarely before the time of Benedict were buildings of stone seen in Britain, nor did the solar ray cast its light through the transparent glass".

[3] Eddius, *Vit. Wilfri*, cap. 17, "In Ripam basilicam polito lapido," etc. etc.

[4] The quotations from the authorities would but weary the reader; they are mostly from William of Malmesbury, or the Saxon Chronicle.

surely those who could execute such elaborate diagrams as we see in the Saxon MSS. could set them out for the workmen to copy; and, if we judge from their arms and jewellery, they had no contemptible artisans. In one particular, which has been often quoted—the carving of fret work—this must have been used by the Saxons, as the very word they used to express ornamentation is *gefrætwan:* besides this, we are told, again and again, that the Saxons built of polished stone. Again, I can hardly suppose that *wide joints* are a distinctive mark. A celebrated authority has shown that there are wide joints in many decidedly Norman buildings. In fact, it appears to me that the execution of work of all kinds depends very much on the nature of the stone. If it were a hard substance, not readily cut except by the axe, it is probable that the joints would be rougher and wider than when they could be cut by the saw. By the way, it is also probably a mistake to say the Saxons were ignorant of the use of the saw; at any rate, they had three distinct words to express that useful instrument.[1] In the same way, I consider that the quality of the mortar is not a sufficient test; this depends very much on local circumstances, in fact, on the quality of the material from which it is burnt. Neither do I think the smallness of the stones to be a criterion. Hugo Candidus[2] expressly tells us that Medehamstede, or "Peterborough", was built of most immense stones—*immanissimi lapides.*

The *probable* tests may be considered to be these:—Saxon work resembles classic Roman more than Norman work. The former succeeded the polished conquerors of the world; and no doubt entered their houses, which they had abandoned, and made them their habitations, and dwelt where the fountains played in the impluvium, surrounded by columns of classic form. The whole land must have been full of arcades, vaultings, hypocausts, xysti, amphitheatres, and all the borrowed glories of old Rome, and would have given direct examples to their successors; while Norman art must have come through Gallic sources, and most probably was in some way tinged with intermediate peculiarities.

Another and a safer test will be to find peculiarities

[1] Locer, saga, and snide.

[2] Ut supra.

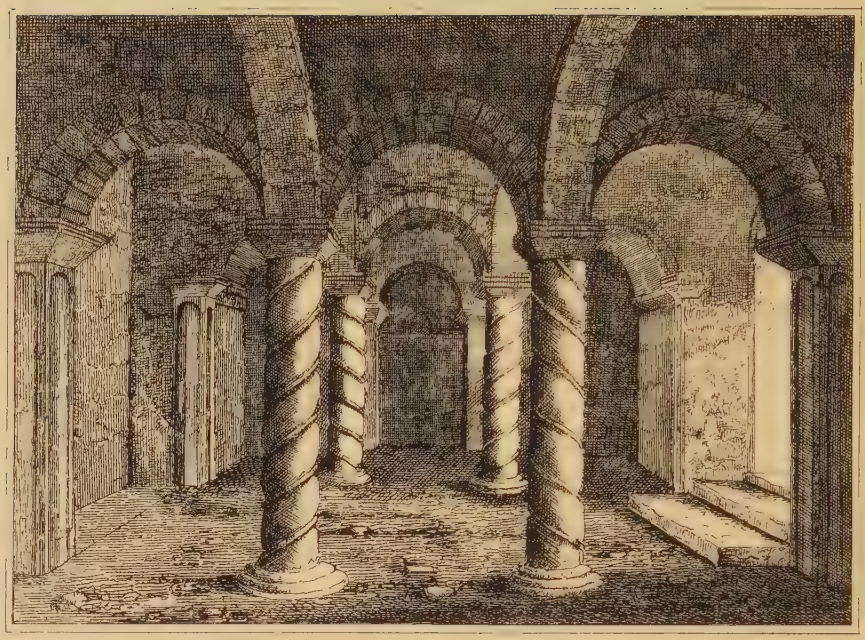
that do not exist in acknowledged and accredited Norman work, and yet which are not Roman. The latter is easily recognised by its superior workmanship and identity with classic forms. The Roman remains, both in Gaul and Britain, in London and at Chester, are unmistakeable. There is the same capital, base, abacus, entablature, that are found at Rome, Pompeii, or Palmyra. Classic detail is easily identified. If early work be *not* Roman *nor* Norman, what else can it be but Saxon?

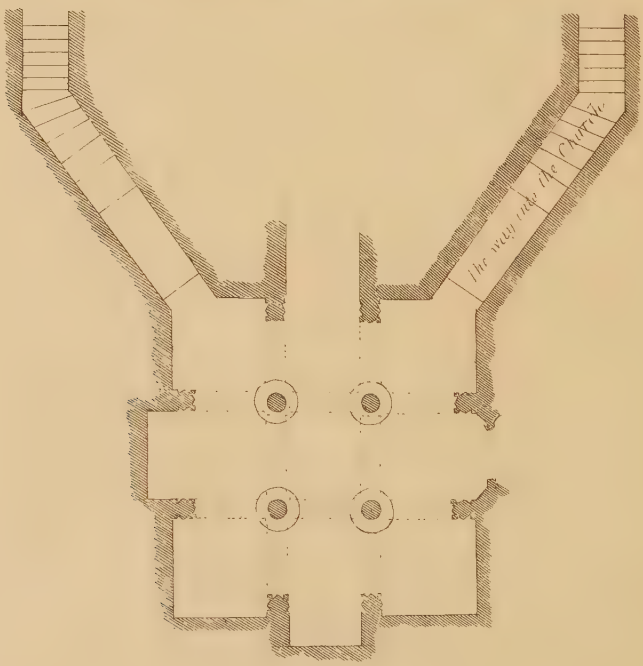
But a still better test is the comparison with the delineations in contemporary Saxon manuscripts. Like the sculptures of Nineveh, or the tombs of Egypt, these drawings will best exhibit the every-day life, the costume and dwellings of the period.

What then are the peculiarities on which we can probably best rely? Quoins composed of pieces alternately long and short; round staircases, of a peculiar form, on the outside of towers; short pillars, resembling turned ballusters; arches (so to speak) of triangular form; rude imposts; and pilasters formed of stones, so narrow as to look like mere strips. With the first two we have nothing to do in this instance. Let me now call your attention to the illustrations of some undoubted Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, particularly the celebrated Pentateuch of Ælfric, and the well-known Harleian MS. 603. The first have already been figured in our *Journal*, vol. i, pp. 28, 29, etc. The other is now given, plate 25, fig. 2.

There you have the turned balluster columns, the alternate round and triangular arches, in instance after instance. Now let us consider in what existing buildings these can be found, and what is their history. At St. Peter's, at Barton-on-Humber, we have these characteristics exactly, as also the strip pilasters. The same character is found in the tower of St. Bennet's, at Cambridge, as a most cursory inspection will show;[1] this has a small portion of strip pilasters also. It is to this last peculiar feature I now beg to call your attention. Every one must recollect the ordinary classic pilaster fronts. The girders of the floors, or the principals of the roof, are placed over them, and the walling between them is of less thickness, and of course lighter than it otherwise would

[1] Figured in Britton's *Arch. Antiq.* vol. v.





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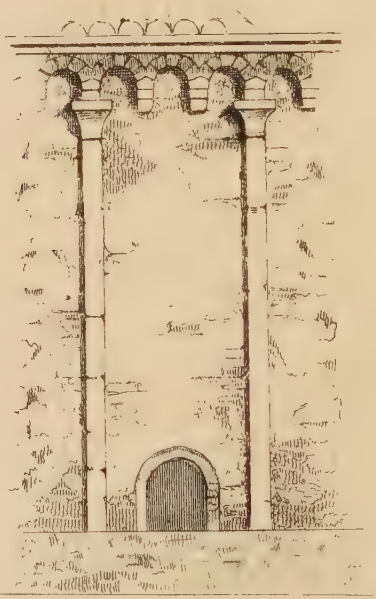

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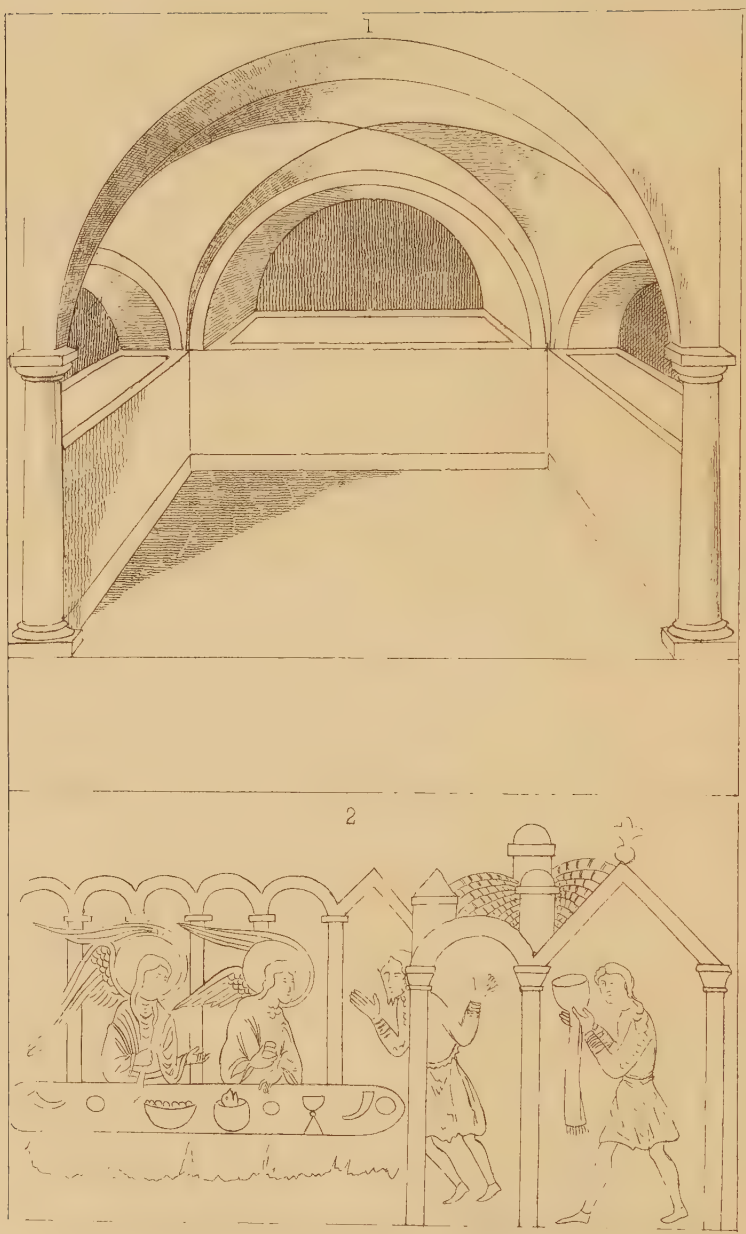

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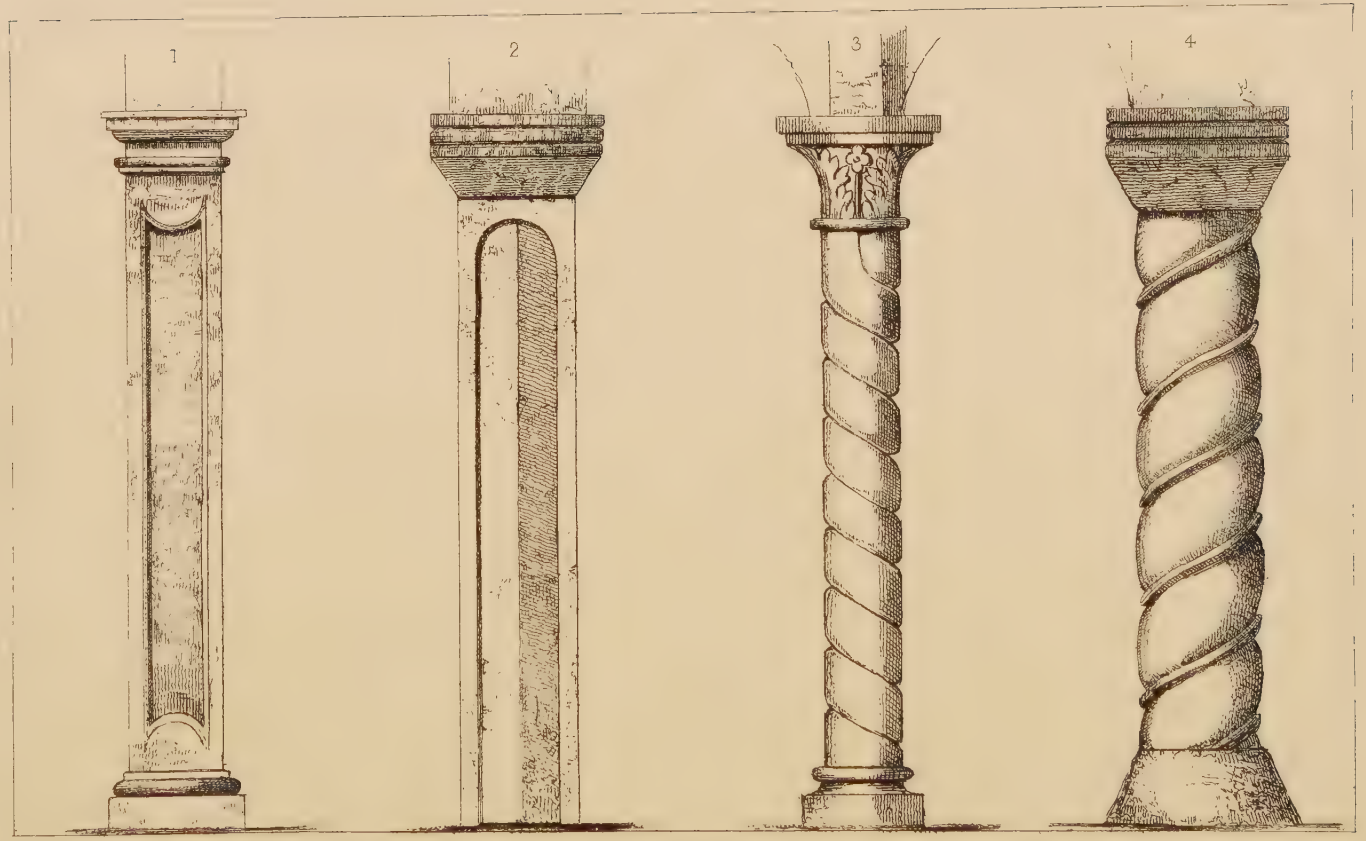
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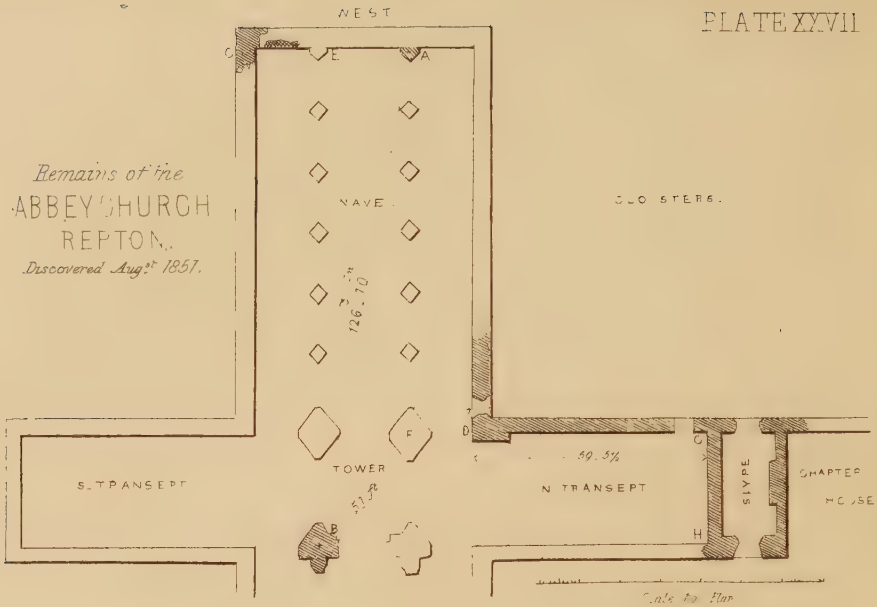
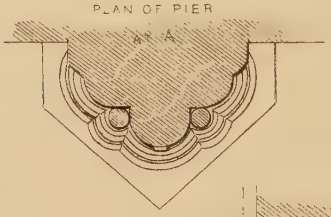
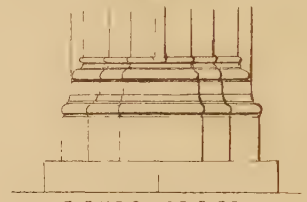
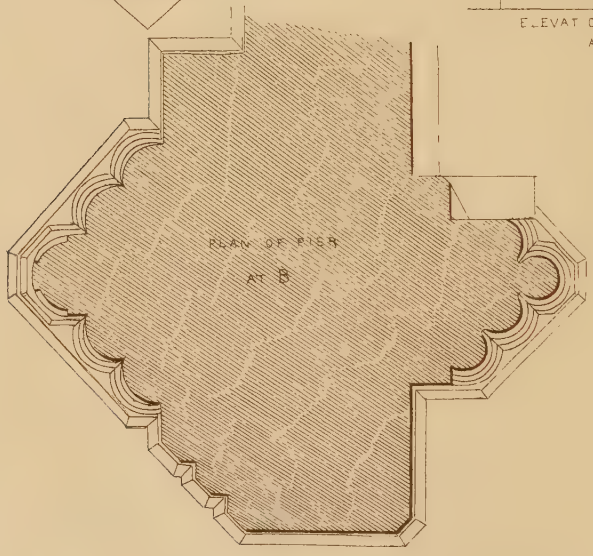
Remains of the ABBEY CHURCH REPTON.

Discovered Aug.st 1857.









be.[1] As classic art declined, the same external appearance was attempted, but in a very different proportion. There are many examples in Hope's and Gally Knight's works of dates varying from the eighth to the tenth centuries. The example given in plate 24, fig. 2, is from S. Pietro in Cielo d'Oro, and was built at Pavia in 750.

In the inside, at Repton, are two curious rude imposts; they also strongly resemble those at Worth, a church of great antiquity, and which has always been considered Saxon; and those at Stoke D'Abernon.

The most curious and interesting feature is the crypt. These singular additions to ecclesiastical edifices no doubt derived their origin from the circumstance, that during the persecution, the early Christians availed themselves of the catacombs, which abound as much under old Rome as they do now under Paris. The remembrance of their sufferings was maintained by erecting these crypts, and, till the middle of the thirteenth century, no large edifice seemed complete without them. They were used for all solemn services, particularly burials. The latest ecclesiastical crypt is perhaps at Rochester; the earliest, probably, that under our notice; as will be seen by reference to the plan and view, plate 23; it is nearly square, and occupies nearly the whole chancel; it is reached by two flights of stairs, leading from the church, one of which is now blocked up. There is an external stair on the north side, and a late doorway with a stoup. On the west side, is an opening something like a "holy hole", probably intended to receive relics. In plate 25, fig. 1, is a view of the interior of one of the crypts at Rome, in which are the tombs of some of the martyrs. It is from the famous work of Seroux D'Agincourt. The slightest inspection will show a similarity to Roman work. Each column has a diminution and a swell, or entasis, always found in classic work, but never in any subsequent styles. They are also twisted in a style like Roman work, an example of which, from San Paolo, is in plate 26, fig. 3. In this plate I have also given a parallel between the ordinary classic pilaster and that at Repton.

[1] A strange mistake has been committed by a certain architectural critic, who considers pilasters "impositions and of no use". Alas! for architectural criticism, will no layman who has common sense meddle with it? I except one whom every member of the Institute of British Architects will readily recognize and respect.

So early is the appearance of this crypt, that many have thought it actually Roman; but the simple inspection of the capital, as well as the groining, will show the impossibility of this being the case.

As I have observed before, I would avoid the expression of any dogmatic opinion on this subject. But I think we may fairly reason thus. Let us first look at the outside of the building. The union of circular and triangular arches together is clearly a mark of Saxon work, and most probably it is exclusively peculiar to that style. This appears from the manuscripts. With these are found, in actual execution, the narrow, or "strip" pilasters. These latter are found as distinct characteristic marks of the architecture in Germany, and also of Lombardic architecture in the eighth and ninth centuries. Is it then too much to claim for the architecture in England, which possesses these characteristics, a date at any rate long antecedent to the conquest? Look then at the diagram, plate 24, fig. 2, referred to before, and compare it with fig. 1 in the same plate, which is the view of the church in question. Can it be doubted for a moment that these are of the same style and period? in fact, had not the roof of Repton been lowered at the eaves, and cut into what have evidently been arches, the work would have been identical. Now let us look to the interior. Here we have characteristics which have been derived from Roman, and yet we do not find any such in acknowledged Norman work, however early. What then can it be? If it be neither of these, surely we do not deserve much blame, we surely deserve softer names and gentler treatment if we say it is Saxon. Surely if not an absolute certainty, we have made out a very strong *primâ facie* case; and to make it stronger, let it be remembered that there is no instance of strip pilasters, baluster columns, or triangular arches in any building which chronicle or charter will prove to be Norman.

If this be so, then what a treasure in architectural archæology have we now before us. Here, perhaps, the true and pure worship, in this part of England, was first offered up. Here, perhaps, rested the bones of the great kings of Mercia; here reposed the ashes of the reverenced Saxon saints; here, perhaps, the fierce Danes caroused through the long winter nights, after the con-

quest of Repton, and before their fearful incursions into the south; here stood the priory, founded by the piety, or conscientious pangs of the Norman counts; and here, till the dissolution, lived, in peaceful and lettered ease, the secular canons, whose exertions in the cause of literature have almost compensated for all the evils attributed to the wealthy monk or importunate friar. If my exertions shall have had no other effect than the awakening in the minds of my hearers an increased pride, a stronger interest, for the preservation of this most interesting building (one of the worthiest objects of this Association), I shall be amply repaid for all my labours.

There is little else in this church of such great interest; the major part seems early English with perpendicular insertions, and a tower of the latter period. But few remains are left of the priory, except some massive columns, whose capitals bear undoubted marks of the Norman architecture of Henry II's period, and which are now in the school house; but through the kindness of Dr. Peile I have this morning been able to trace out the greater part of the plan of the original Abbey church. When I first came here, accompanied by my active friend Mr. Alfred White, the bases of some pillars had been discovered in the garden, close to what tradition has always called the cloisters. They appeared to form part of the end of a series of piers and arches, or as is usually called the "respond" pier. It is marked A in plate 27. During my absence, through the learned doctor's exertions, excavations had been made, and fragments of another pier were found at B, and of part of a wall at C. The southern side of this was evidently the external side of the wall of the building. From these data, the problem was to trace the building. On bisecting the angle at A, and proceeding eastward to trace the church, no remains were found. I then measured the distance from A to C; this appeared too much for the width of a nave, and most probably formed the nave and aisle together. There was the more reason to believe this, as the south margin of C was evidently *external* work. I now started from B, westward (always taking the apparent centres of the work) and measured the space between C and the point, E, to which the line arrived. Then again laying down a line eastward from A, we found exactly the

same distance from F that E was from C (less the thickness of the wall); to a point I have marked D, evident vestiges of the *internal* angle of a building; here was a portion of a very old wall, D, G, H, I, and the eastern part of this, H, I, was exactly opposite the pier, B. Thus we are able to trace the nave, transepts, and the commencement of the choir, and show the greater portion of the old church. Any one of my data being wanted, it could not have been done. This also showed that the cloister was where tradition had placed it, and that the arched passage, now used for stores, was the ancient "slype". The vestiges of vaulting in the wall beyond this were no doubt the remains of the chapter-house.

ADDITIONAL MSS. 6698, p. 538.

The late Prioryof Repton in the countye of Derby { Edmund Currer, Rychard Sylster, Will'm Day, Henry Cokken } Inr. { Anthony Pott, Hugh Manyrye, Raffe Holycoke, Rychard Hay } Inr. { John Wryght, George Smyth, Henry Bowyston, Ryc' Bowilston } Inr.

Herafter followeth all suche p'cells of impliments or houshould stuffe, cōrne, catell, ornaments of the churche & such other lyke found within the seid late p'ory at the tyme of the dyssoluc'on thereof sould by the kyngs commissioners to Thacker, the 26 day of October in the 30th yere of o'r soveragn lorde kyng Henry the 8th. That is to saye in

The Churche.

Fyrst, at the hye alter 5 great images, 1 table of alebaster wth lytell images, 3 lytle candlestyks of latten, 1 ould payr of organs, 1 lampe of lattenn, the stalles in the quere, certein oulde bokes, 1 rode. In St. Johns chapell, 1 imag of saint John, 1 table of alebaster, 1 p'ticion of wode. In our Lady chapel, 1 image of o'r Lady & 1 table of alebaster, 1 table of wode before the alter, 1 hercloth upon the same alter, 1 laumpe of latenn, 1 grate of ieron, oulde stoles, 1 p'ticion of tymber. In saint Nicholas chapell, 1 immag of seint John & 1 image of seint Syth, 1 table of alebaster in p'ticion of tymber, 1 rode & a image of seint Nicholas, 1 table of alebaster, the p'ticions of tymber, & in the body of

50s. the churche 7 peces of tymber & lytell oulde house of tymber, the 12 apostells, 1 image of o'r lady in our lady of petys chapell, 1 table of wood gylte, 1 sacryng-bell & p'ticion of tymber seled over. In seint Thom's chapell, 1 table of wode the p'ticion of tymber, & 1 sacryng bell, 1 long lader, 1 lytell table of alabaster sould to Thaker for ..... 50*s.*

It' the roofe glasse, ieron, the pavement & grave-stones in the seid churche ..... *rem. unsoulde.*

The Vestrye. It' ther 1 crosse of coper, too tynacles of baudkynn, 2 albes, 1 sute of blacke baudekynn, 1 sute of oulde baudekyn w^th^ conys on them, 2 copes of velvet, 1 of tanny baudekyn, 2 of grene baudekyn, 2 of counterfeit baudekyn, 1 cope of reysed velvet, 4 towells & 4 alter clothes, 2 pagented alter clothes, 1 great presse of woode, one oulde cheste, 2 ieron stoles, 1 ould tynacle, 2 holy water stokes, 1 of brasse the other of leade, soulde for ..... £4.

The Cloyster. It' the chanons seats, the glasse, ieron, & the pavement & a laver of leade are sould for ..... 20*s.*

The Chapter House. It' the glasse and pavement & a lectron of wode, ar sould for ..... 5*s.*

The Dorter. It' the chanons sells & 1 bell ar sould for ..... 20*s.*

The Frater. It' 5 tables, 1 bell soulde for ..... 6*s.*

The Halle. It' ther 3 tables, 3 formes, 1 cupborde, 1 ould blanket & 1 pagented clothe..... 2*s.*

The Buttery. It' ther 6 oulde table clothes, 6 ould towells, 4 colerd clothes, 12 napky's, 5 ale tubbes, 3 oulde chestes, 6 candlestyks of laten & 1 bason & an ewyar sould .... 10*s.*

The Priors Chambre. It' ther 1 bedstedd, 1 fetherbedd, 1 blankett, 1 quilte, 1 coverlett, 1 boulster, 1 pyllowe, 1 tester of pagented clothe, 2 coverletts of blewe lynyon clothe, the hengyngs of grene saye, 2 fouldyng tables, 3 chayers, 3 formes, 2 coffers, 1 payre of tonges & 1 aundyron, sould for ..... 30*s.*

The Inner Chamber. It' ther 1 matres, 1 coverlett & 1 boulster, soulde for 2*s.*

The Gardyn Chamber. It' ther 1 fether bedd, 1 boulster, 1 pyllowe, 1 coverlett, 2 blanketts, 1 tester of dornyx, the pagented hegyngs, 1 conyd chayr, 1 cupborde, 1 forme, soulde for.. 15*s.*

The next Chamber ther. It' ther 1 matres, 1 boulster, 2 coverletts soulde for 20*d.*

The Hall Chamber. It' ther 1 fether bedd, 1 boulster, 2 coverletts, 1 tester of lynyonn clothe, 1 oulde table & 1 forme, soulde for ..... 10*s.*

The Hyhh Chamber. It' 1 fether bedd, 2 matresis, 2 boulsters, 4 coverletts, very ould hengyngs of redd saye & 1 chayre, soulde for 7*s.*

The Kycheun. It' ther 5 brasse potts, 2 spytts, 2 pannes, 1 drypping pann, 1 fryeng pann, 1 barre of ieronn, 4 henches hing potts upon, 1 payr of rostyng ieronns, 1 gridiron, 1 skymer, 1 ladle, 16 pec^{s}. of peuter vessell, oulde bordes & one lader, soulde for ..... 40*s.*

The Larder. It' ther 1 oulde borde & 1 oulde table, soulde for .. 8*d.*

The Bruhouse. It' ther 2 braying leadds, 1 mash fatte, 1 buckett & a chene, 2 ould bordes, 2 tubbes, 2 cowles & 2 skyppes, soulde for ..... 66*s.* 8*d.*

The Yelyg-house The Boultyng-house The Kyll-house. It' ther 16 kelyng leadds and 2 mash fatts, soulde for 40*s.*
It' ther 2 troffes, 1 boultyng huch, & 1 syve, soulde for 20*d.*
It' 1 heyr upon the kyll & 1 sestiron of lead, sould for 21*s.* 8*d.*

Grayne at the P'ory. Ir' 1 q'rt' of whete 8*s.* It' 2 qu'rt' of rye at 7*s.* the q'rt', 14*s.* It' 15 q'rt' of barley at 4*s.* the q'rt', 60*s.* It' 4 q'rt' of maulte, 20*s.* It' 6 q'rt' of pese, at 4*s.* the q'rt', 24*s.* It' 10 lodes of haye, at 2*s.* 8*d.* the lode, amountyng to the summe of 26*s.* 8*d.* ..... £7. 12*s.* 8*d.*

Catell. It' ther founde 3 kye, 20*s.* It' 10 horsys & 2 oulde cartes, soulde for ..... £4.

Pese soulde at Nutonn. It' 1 reke of pese at Nutonn, soulde for ..... £7.

It' receyvd of John Smyth & Richard Haye for money by them imbesulyd from the seid late p'ory .....£122.17*s.*6*d.*

The summe tot^{l}. of all the guddes soulde late apperteynyng to the said late p'ory, wth £122. 17*s.* 2*d.* rece'ed imbesulyd from the seid p'ory..£162.19*s.*6*d.*

Rewardes gyven to the covent of the seid late p'ory at the dissoluc'on thereof.

Fyrst to S^{r}. Rauffe Clerok, sub p'or.. 40*s.*
It' to John Wood 40,,
It' to Thomas Stringer 40,,
It' to James Yong 40,,
It' to John Asshby 40,,
It' to Thomas Pratt.....40,,
It' to Thomas Webster 40,,
It' to Rob^{t}. Warde 40,,
It' to Thomas Bramston.....40,, £18,,

First to Rauffe Lathbury .....6*s.* 8*d.*
It' to 5 men that founde certen plate..25,,
It' to the shepd 15,,
It' to Rychard Yuse 13 4
It' to Rob^{t}. Clerke 5,,
It' to Kynton 13 4

It' to John Browne 20,,
It' to Thomas Gysborne.....20,,
It' to Rob^{t}. Stephinson 13 4
It' to Will'm Kynton 7 6

It' to John Kyngshesse 20 0
It' to Thomas Byrch 7 6
It' to Hugh Kynton 13 4
Rewardes gyven to the Servants ther at the same tyme likewise.
It' to John Webster 7 6
It' to Rob^{t}. Rutter 7 6
It' to Rob^{t}. Eynysworth 15 0
It' to Rob^{t}. Hudson 20 0
It' to Rob^{t}. at Oven 13 4
It' to Thomas Michell.....17 6
It' to John Richardson 12 0
It' to Will'm Abney 13 4
It' to John Webster 12 0
It' to 2 boyez plowdryvers 4 0
It' a guyde from Repton to Grace Drewe ..... 20*d.* £15.8*s.*10 £33.8*s.*10*d.*

Cates bought.
It' in cates bought and spent at the time of the commissioners being ther for to dyssolve the seid p'ory & for the saffe kepyng of the guddes and catell to the seid mon' late appteynyng duryng the tyme ..... 107*s.* 8*d.*

The summe of the payments aforesaid.....£38.16*s.*6*d.*

M^{d}. ther remaineth a specialty of £10 upon Thacker for money by him due for the guddes and catell of the foreseid p'ory by him bought, payable at the fest of the nativitie of seint John the baptist whych shall be in the yere of o'r Lord God 1539.. £10

And so remayneth in the said commissioners handes of the money rece'd for the guddes before soulde £114 3

Certayn guddes or stuffe belonging to the seid late p'ory whyche rem' unsoulde.

Whyte Plate.
Fyrst, 2 chales is 10 spones, all whyte, wayeng .....42 *oz.*

Bells remayning unsould.
It' ther remayneth unsould 4 bells wayeng 24th hundreth at the hundreth valued

Leade remayning unsould.
It' ther ys estemed to be 39 fothers of lead at £4 the fother .....

M^{d}. ther remayneth unsoulde all the housys edyfyed upon the

scite of the seid late p'ory, the glasse, ieron & pavement in the cloyster, the glasse, ieron & pavement in the chapter house sould & only excepted.

M^d^. that Thacker was put in possession of the scite of the seid late p'ory & all the demaynes to yt appteynyng to o'r soveraigne lorde the kynges use, the 26 day of October in the 30 yere of o'r seid soveraigne lorde kyng Henry the 8^th^.

Pencions appoynted & allotted to the covent of the seid late p'ory.

	£	s.	
Fyrst to Rauffe Clarke	6	0	0
It' to John Wood		106	
It' to Thomas Stringer		106	8
It' to James Yonge		106	8
It' to John Asshby		100	0
It' to Thomas Pratt		100	0
It' to Thomas Webster		100	0
It' to Rob^t^. Warde	4	0	0
It' to Thomas Braunceton	4	0	0
It' to Thomas Cordall		106	8

S'm....£50. 6*s*. 8*d*.

Fees and annuities grauntyd out by covent seale before the dyssolucon of the seid p'ory.

	s.	d.
Fyrst to Thomas Bradshawe	20	8
It' to Mr. Bolles	40	0
It' to Henry Audley	53	4
It' to S^r^. John Stelys Pryst	40	0
It' to the deacons offyce of the prysshe church of Rypingdon	58	8
It' to Rob^t^. Lago, vicar of Wyllington	53	4
It' to John Smyth*	40	0
It' to Richard Haye*	40	0
It' to Rob^t^. Sacheverell	26	8
It' to Humfrey Quarneby	4	0
It' to Rob^t^. Hudsoun for his corody	2 *chanons ryghts.*	
It' to Margaret Crofts for her corody	2 *chanons ryghts.*	

Sum....£22. 18*s*. 8*d*.

* The commissioners do not seem to have regarded the "imbesuling" of Smyth and Haye as criminal, for they seem to have allowed them to retain their annuities.

Detts owyng to the seid late monastery by dyvers p'sons.

	£	s.	
Fyrst, Thomas Season, p'sonn of Castle Ashby	65	0	
It' the seid p'sonn for mares & foleys	4	0	
It' the same p'son for 2 q'rt' of maulte		10	
It' Thomas Morley	6	0	
It' to Rychard Wakelyn		13	4

Sum....£76. 3*s.* 4*d.*

Detts owyng to dyvers p'sons by the seid late p'ory.

	£			
Fyrst, to Isabell Rowe	13	6	8	
It' to Rob^{t}. Baynbrigg	11	0	0	
It' to John Dampere Pryst	14	15	10	*ob.*
It' to John Lawrenson Pryst.....		53	4	
It' to John Debanke Pryst		74	4	
It' to Thomas Bagnall Pryst.....		55	0	
It' to Thomas Walker of Burton		26	0	
It' to John Hyde of Potlake.....		17	0	
It' to Rob^{t}. Bakewell		40	0	
It' to Rychard Pusey for hys lyvery.....		10	0	
It' to John Smyth		63	0	
It' to Rychard Haye		16	8	
It' to Rob^{t}. Stephyn		10	0	
It' to Thomas Gysborne		10	0	
It' to John Kynton.....		10	0	
It' to Thomas Mychell		28	0	
It' to John Bonne		55	4	
It' to Will'm Kyntonn		10	0	

Sum....£63 14*d. ob.*

HADDON HALL.

BY HENRY DUESBURY, ESQ

The subject of this paper stands on a limestone rock which rises out of the valley of the river Wye, midway between the town of Bakewell and the hamlet of Rowsley, in the county of Derby, and breaks the slope of a well-timbered park or chase, which gradually ascends from the level meadows, surrounds the building on three sides, and stretches over the range of hills which form the eastern boundary of the valley.

With respect to the building itself, I propose to confine myself to a statement of such facts and dates as I have been able to collect, and which may assist the inquirer to trace the gradual development and growth of this most interesting monument of by-gone times, and enable him more fully to appreciate and enjoy the memories and associations that are engrafted upon it.

Whether or not any building stood on this site before the conquest cannot now be determined, although from the fact of the Romans having settled in the neighbouring town of Bakewell to work the lead mines, and that these mines insured a continuous population, I am inclined to believe it not unlikely, as the site is so good, that the oldest portions of the present building had an antecedent; however, be this as it may, the first authentic record of the place is to be found in that roll which is before the *legal* memory of man.

The Domesday book, begun in 1081, which, prepared, as it chiefly was, to prevent the followers of William the bastard from quarrelling over the spoils of a whole nation, by apportioning a share to each, has become one of the most curious and valuable historical documents in the world. The first owner of land of whom mention is made, is Henry de Ferrers, of the family of the great earls of Derby, who had one carucate in Haduna or Nether Haddon, in the manor of Bakewell, but the whole manor, together with vast possessions in different parts of the country, was given by

William to his natural son, William Peverel (Peverel being the name of his mother's subsequent husband), he himself being the famous "Peverel of the Peak". But the Peverels did not hold Haddon long, for a descendant, probably a grandson of him of the Peak, being a partizan of king Stephen in the wars with Matilda, poisoned, it is said, the earl of Chester, who was on Matilda's side, and when Henry II came to the throne in 1154, and made a journey northward, Peverel had misgivings that the king would avenge the death of his mother's follower, and became a monk, to be under the protection of the church; but still not feeling quite assured, he fled away altogether before the king came back, and all his possessions fell to the crown.

Haddon was at this time held on the tenure of knight's service by one Avenall, who thus became tenant-in-chief of the crown. There are very meagre records of these Avenalls, though the family was of importance; but it seems to be known that the last of them left two daughters, co-heiresses—one, Elizabeth, married to Simon Bassett, and the other, Avicia, married about the year 1195 to Richard Vernon. The original division of the property seems to have been, that Simon Bassett was to have the whole vil of Haddon and its appurtenances, with the moiety of Basselaw; and Richard Vernon was to have the whole of Hadestock and Hurtlingburch, and moiety of Baslaw, and fifty shillings for the mill; but this arrangement must have been modified, for it is certain that this Richard Vernon lived at Haddon. He was the son of Warine de Vernon, and younger brother of Ralph de Vernon, successively barons of Shipbrook, and the ancestor of the noble race who held Haddon by direct descent from this time (with an unexplained interregnum, extending from 1265 to 1278, when the property was held under the crown by Gilbert le Franceys), till the year 1567, a period of three hundred and seventy-two years.

Here let us pause and inquire what record these old walls can give us of these far-off lords of "Haduna", these Peverels and these Avenalls, whose names are so suggestive of deeds of danger and of chivalry, although not performed on this spot. Alas, but few! Although there is no doubt the first thing Peverel of the Peak would do, would be to

build himself a tower of strength, or castle, if he did not find one already built, the keep of which was probably on the site of the present north-east tower, and I am inclined to think some portions of the old walls still remain. The corbelling under the parapet looks very Norman, but it cannot be so unless we suppose *all* the doors and windows to have been inserted at a later date. It is evident *some* of the windows have been altered and enlarged, and the eastern arch of the gateway has most probably been rebuilt. It stands more forward than the upper work, and has had large projecting corbels over it, to carry a passage of communication round the receding face of the tower above. But this tower is not original, as shewn by the corbels on the *inside* of the east wall, over the gateway, in the room on the third story, and level with the external corbels, and proving that at one time this wall was isolated, a mere curtain. I find remains of a similar wall along the south front, and am inclined to put down these fragments at a very early date. The south aisle of the chapel is, undoubtedly, Norman, although it has been altered and modified; and I fancy I have discovered traces of early foundations along the north and west fronts, but the nature of the construction renders it impossible to decide. Our only certainty is the chapel; and supposing it to have been originally built as a chapel, we may fairly conjecture the place was of some importance to justify such an appendage; but if it were a place of importance, it is remarkable that further traces of it do not remain, especially as it never appears to have been attacked or destroyed in warfare. On the other hand, it was the residence of families of high standing for one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty years; and although the Peverels held Nottingham castle, a magnificent place, then newly built, and chiefly resided there, still the Avenalls were a great family, and would require a suitable abode; but what it was there is nothing left to tell. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that a space, equal to the present area, covered by the building, was walled in, to which tenants and retainers could retire for protection with their families and cattle in case of attack, the house, or hall and offices, being within the walls. A portion of such wall, as already mentioned, still remains adjoining the east end

of the chapel, and that it was an isolated wall is proved by the fact that there are corbels on *both* sides of it; it is about four feet six inches thick, and above the corbels a foot wider, making it five feet six inches thick at this point. The increased thickness was doubtless obtained to give space for a passage with a parapet on each side, for the use of the men at arms who might man the walls and keep guard. It does not follow that all this early work existed before sir R. Vernon's time, but as the hall had been a residence for so many years, I think it not unlikely.[1]

We have now got sir Richard Vernon, knight, and Avicia Avenall, his wife, comfortably settled down at Haddon in the year 1195, but what they or their descendants for many years did to the hall, whether they pulled some buildings down, or built up others, enlarged it here, or altered it there, we have no means of knowing; they seem to have had their fair share of such scrapes as the barons of those days were apt to get into, and at one time, in the reigns of Edward I and II, lost the property altogether for thirteen years.

The Bassets also continued to hold a moiety of the original property till the reign of Edward III (some say of Henry VI), when the Vernons purchased their share, and I meet with nothing which throws the least glimmer of light upon the subject of our inquiry until the year 1330, when a sir Richard Vernon, of Haddon, born in 1312, obtained a grant of free warren from the king, and married (at least I suppose he is the man), for his first wife, Joan, daughter of Rhese Griffith, and heiress of Richard Stackpole, who died in 1368; he then married Juliana, the sister and heiress of sir Fulk de Pembrudge,

[1] The accuracy of this conjecture as to the place having been walled in, and the nature of the wall, was most singularly confirmed by his grace the duke of Rutland, who, after the paper had been read, produced the *original* grant (see *Original Documents*, No. 1, in the present *Journal*), from king John (then acting as regent for his brother Richard Cœur de Lion, who was absent on the crusade), empowering sir Richord Vernon, of Haddon, to enclose his house and premises with a wall twelve feet high, but without *loopholes*, that the wall might be merely protective, and not aggressive, and forbidding all people to hinder him in the said work. There are no loopholes in such portions of the wall as I have discovered. It would appear by this interesting document, that the wall was built after sir R. Vernon came to the property; but I am inclined to think a wall existed originally, and that his grant referred more particularly to the *raising* of the wall.

lord of Tong, in Shropshire, and died in 1377. Shaw says, in his pedigree of the Vernons, of Harlaston, that the "sir R. Vernon, who lived in 1418, was styled sir R. Vernon, of Pembrugge, kt., being at that time married to the heiress of sir Fulk de Pembridge, lord of Tong castle, in Shropshire"; and Edward King, in his *Observations on Ancient Castles*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, says of Haddon Hall, "over the door of the great porch leading into the hall are two shields of arms carved in stone, the one containing those of Vernon (which are fretty), the others those of Fulco de Pembridge, lord of Tong, in Shropshire, whose *daughter* and heiress, *Isabel*, married sir R. Vernon, and brought a great additional estate into the family; these properly are barry of six, *or* and *azure*".

These conflicting statements render the question a very perplexed one; but I am inclined to adhere to the opinion, taking also into account the style of the work, that the sir Richard, who married Joan Griffith, also married the heiress of Pembridge, and put the shields over the porch. This would fix the date of the porch of the great banqueting hall somewhere between 1368, when the second marriage took place, and 1377, the year of the knight's death. The porch is, however, evidently an addition to the hall, which is of older date, assume that of Edward II, at which time also it is evident the chapel was restored, and the west window introduced. The alterations of the Norman work were, I think, made before this time. Probably, the works of the great hall were continuous, and comprised the great hall itself, the offices immediately adjoining the north end of it (the external buttresses of which appear amongst the offices subsequently added), the porch, and, possibly, the dining-room building. Most likely the parapets and battlements of the north-east tower were then restored, and I find traces of work, more particularly a doorway under the long gallery, of this period. The sir Richard last mentioned had a son and heir, who was born in 1368 (his father must have been married early in the year), and died 1401. His son and heir is the next to give us a little help, by leaving an inscription in painted glass on the east window of the chapel,—

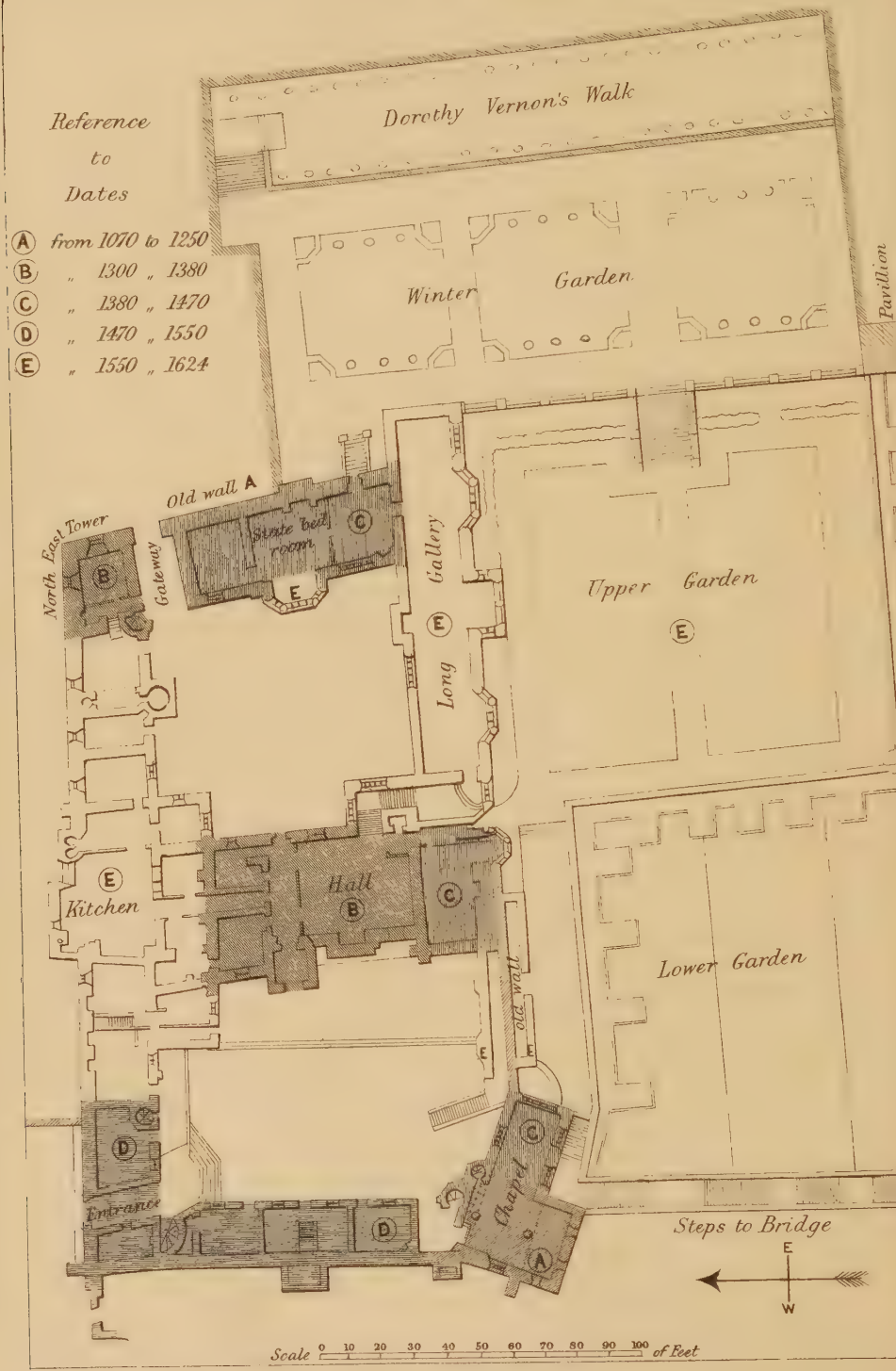
"Orate pro aiabus Ricardi Vernon et Benedicte uxor's eius qui fecerunt an'o d'ni milesimo cccexxvii".

He was born in 1391, came to the property on the death of his father in 1401, and married *Benedicta* (the name on the glass), daughter of sir John Ludlow, of Hodnet, Salop, and died in 1451. He seems to have been an able statesman—was treasurer of Calais, captain of Rouen, and speaker in the Parliament of Leicester, 4th Henry VI, in 1426. The works which I think may have been done before his death, are as follow:—The eastern portion of the chapel, the rebuilding of the upper portion of the west end of the chapel, and repairs thereto, and the buildings on the east side of the upper court. This sir Robert was succeeded by his son and heir, sir William, who married Margaret Pype, an heiress. He continued the works at the chapel, introduced the Pype arms in the south window, and fitted up the south aisle with seats. The old vestment chest is of his time, and has upon it shields, quartered with the Vernon, Pembridge, and Pype arms *only*. He probably built the chapel turret, as a raised W is carved upon it; he died in 1467. Sir Henry, his second son, succeeded him. Sir Henry was a statesman, and a man of letters; he was a great favourite of Henry VII, who made him governor to Arthur, prince of Wales, who lived at Haddon for some time. Sir Henry most probably introduced the Tudor arms, which are carved on the panelling, and painted on the glass in various places; as also the carved likeness of Henry VII and his queen, on the panelling of the dining-room bay. The grotesque head adjoining, is said to be that of Will. Somers, who might have worn the motley in this reign as well as the succeeding one. Sir Henry, I have little doubt, built the western range of buildings before his death, which happened in 1515; they were finished by sir George, his grandson, who came to the estate in 1517, when he was nine years old, and whose arms and initials adorn the north-western, and now principal entrance. He finished the fittings of the dining-room in 1545, as appears by the date attached to his initials and those of his wife, which are carved on the panelling, and he appears to have erected the galleries, etc., in the hall, and to have completed the several unfinished works.

Sir George Vernon was the last heir male of his race, who inhabited Haddon. Camden says of the Vernons of

Haddon, " who, as they were ancient, so they were no less renowned in those parts, insomuch as this sir George Vernon, who lived in our times, for his magnificent port and hospitality, was called by the multitude, ' Petty King of the Peak' "; he was, moreover, the richest of them all, as he died possessed of no less than thirty manors. Sir George not only finished the work of his predecessors, but his unbounded hospitality and mode of life, prompted him to very materially add to them. It cannot now be ascertained whether any, and what buildings occupied the site of the present range of offices on the north, or whether any important building occupied the site of the present long gallery, but there must have been *some* sort of kitchens and offices: whatever they were, they do not appear to have been sufficient to enable sir George to indulge in his princely hospitality, and to him, I do not hesitate to ascribe the erection of the range of kitchens and offices which occupy nearly the whole of the north front; he also must have built the suite of rooms, between the great hall and the chapel (although they are not entirely original, as traces of older works are remaining), and I have no doubt he altered the east range of buildings in the upper court; the bay window, of what is called the state bed-chamber, being evidently an addition, as the remains of blocked-up earlier windows which appear beyond the walls of the bay, clearly show; indeed, the alterations here must have been considerable, as I find under the ante-room, between the long gallery and the state bed-room, the remains of a handsome staircase turret, which, as it is worked fair, and the quoins at the south end of the east range are returned, must have formed the termination of this range.[1] I am also inclined to believe that he built the walls of the long gallery as well as laid out the gardens. He died in 1567, was buried at Bakewell, instead of Tong, the usual burial place of the family, and was succeeded by his daughters Margaret and Dorothy, who were joint heiresses for his large possessions; they were both married before he died,

[1] Antiquaries must be on their guard when they find inscriptions to the effect that so and so " *built this*" church or house, since it frequently happens that the inscriber had merely altered or added to a portion of the building instead of having built the whole, in fact had done no more than make such alterations as described above. There is an inscription in Morley church which illustrates this remark.



Henry Duesbury, Archt. delt.

PLAN OF HADDON HALL.

—Margaret, the elder, to sir Thomas Stanley, of Winwick, Lancashire, second earl of Derby, and Dorothy, the younger, to John Manners (afterwards sir John Manners), son of Thomas baron Roos and earl of Rutland, first of the name who held the earldom. Dorothy Vernon had the Derbyshire estates, and hence the connexion of the great family of Rutland with the Haddon property.

Sir John Manners finished the works in progress at the death of sir George Vernon in 1567, that is, he decorated the long gallery with the very beautiful carved panelling and an ornamental ceiling, rich with coats of arms, amongst which those of Manners *first* appear; and he also most probably roofed in the building. He finished the internal decorations of the state bed-chamber, and of the rooms in the north-west or principal entrance tower, as also the chapel fittings. Most of the rain water pipes now existing were put up in the time of the Manners, and sir George Manners re-roofed the chapel in 1624. Some accounts say, he died in 1623, but the date I have given is carved on the roof. They appear to have taken great care of the property, and one of the family built Rowsley Inn, in 1652. There are no stable buildings remaining; they formerly stood near the large barn, probably of sir G. Vernon's time, and were pulled down about the end of the last century. The last works done at Haddon Hall were the formation of a bowling-green, to the north-east of D. Vernon's walk, and the erection of a pavilion thereon in 1696. A few years later (1703), the family removed to Belvoir castle, which has continued from that time to be the principal seat of the dukes of Rutland.

Having thus, I think with tolerable certainty, traced the history of the building of Haddon Hall, I will give a *résumé* of the five periods into which I have divided the work, with the dates of each, and then conclude with a few remarks on the uses, construction, and artistic treatment of the building.

First period—about 1070 *to* (*say*) 1250. *See* A, Plate XXVIII.

The south aisle of chapel, the walls, or some of them of the north-east tower, and portions of walls in the south front.

Second period—about 1300 *to* (*say*) 1380, B.

The great hall and offices, the hall porch, lower west window of chapel,

repairs to and rebuilding of portions of north-east tower, and some work in upper court under long gallery.

Third period—1380 *to* 1470, C.

The eastern portion of the chapel, the rebuilding of the upper portion of the west end of the chapel and repairs thereto, and the buildings on the east side of the upper court.

Fourth period—1470 *to about* 1550, D.

Fittings and finishing of the dining-room (the external works no doubt previously built), the western range of buildings, and the western end of the north range.

Fifth period—1550 *to* 1624 *and onwards*, E.

The range of offices N. F., alteration of east buildings in upper court, the long gallery and the gardens and terrace, the pulpit and desk and pews in the chapel, the barn and bowling-green.

Nothing remains to shew that Haddon hall ever was, properly speaking, a *castle*, although the Peverels' building might have had some of the attributes of one, but, as I have already stated, they mostly lived at Nottingham, and the Avenalls, although members of a powerful family, appear to have held Haddon only, without the other Derbyshire estates of the Peverels. The hall, therefore, from the first, was more of a manor-house or place than anything else, and I imagine its unfitness to be used for the purposes of war is the chief cause of its never being attacked. It escaped attack because it could not be used for the purposes of aggression, because it was comparatively speaking, harmless, a very fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as the building has thereby come down to us subject to no other changes than those produced by the ravages of time and the alterations in the mode of life of the possessors. Of course the battlements could have been defended for a time by men at arms, and we still see evidences of preparation for this purpose in the bow-stringing machine in the north-east tower, and in the rack to hold arrows, which exists in the room adjoining. It would have relieved the dry antiquarian investigation of the subject, if a gallant attack and a courageous defence of these walls could have been recorded; but this pleasure cannot be indulged in. Indeed, the two bits of romance which have been traditionally handed down respecting Haddon are, I fear, apocryphal.

It has been conjectured that the sir Richard Vernon, who is mentioned by Shakespeare as having been executed by order of Henry IV, after the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, was a sir Richard Vernon of Haddon, but the evidence that no Vernon, of Haddon, died in 1403, is too clear to admit of this being possible; this Vernon, therefore, who was "borne to the death" with Worcester, must have belonged to another branch of the family. It is also a current and firmly believed tradition, that Dorothy Vernon eloped with sir John Manners through the doorway in the ante-room, adjoining the east-end of the long gallery, which leads into the garden. The story is, that sir John disguised himself as a forester and lingered about the park, and hid himself in the woods till a favourable opportunity occurred of carrying off the lady, then about eighteen. This he accomplished, the tale goes on to say, whilst a fancy ball was in progress, given in honour of the marriage of Margaret, the elder sister. In the first place, it is difficult to imagine where the fancy ball could have been held; in the next, it is not clear that the *doorway* and steps leading to it *existed*, because sir John Manners himself finished the long gallery, and the rooms adjoining; and in the third place, such a proceeding was quite unnecessary, as sir John Manners was in every way an eligible match, and there is not the slightest hint of any quarrel between him and his father-in-law. We must, therefore, turn to other sources for association with Haddon, and they are to be found in the feudal hospitality and feudal sports in which the inhabitants delighted.[1] We can imagine the hawking parties in the meadows, the hunting parties in the chase, and the rare doings in the great hall afterwards. The iron hook on the screen is said to be a relic of these carousals, it having been used to tie up above his head the hands of any defaulter who, in the opinion of his fellows, did not do his duty to his liquor; his further

[1] With respect to Haddon, it is well worth bearing in mind that, through all the intestine troubles and foreign wars of the middle ages, its inhabitants, for the whole term of its habitation (more than six hundred years), continued to lead the lives, essentially, of country gentlemen. They filled the offices of sheriffs of the county, speakers of parliament, governors of princes, and the like dignified employments; they were an intellectual race, and although always prepared for deeds of chivalry, they preferred, apparently, the arts of peace. The "sermons in the stones" they have left behind them, tell the same tale.

punishment being to have cold water poured down the sleeves of his doublet when in this position.

But as times altered, when intestine troubles ceased, and there was no longer need of a single archer on the battlements; when Henry VII had reduced the power of the nobility and substituted statecraft for knighthood, and above all when a queen sat on the throne, and that queen the strict and ceremonious Elizabeth, who held her progresses through the land, and caused her nobles to put their houses in order to receive and entertain her with suitable pomp and splendour, another state of things was seen; roystering in the great hall, gave way to treading "silken measures" in the drawing-room, and the gallery of state, of courtesy, and of refinement, superseded the rough old hall. Haddon is a marked illustration of this change, heightened possibly by sir George Vernon being, like his immediate predecessors, fond of the arts and of the refinements of life, and having only daughters, who we are told were handsome, and, we have a right to suppose, highly accomplished ladies; he had besides great wealth, and could well afford to gratify himself and them by beautifying his residence, and adapting it to their tastes and modes of life.

There are no specialities in the style of the building which call for much remark, except perhaps as to two points; the one is the unusual purity of the Gothic of the western entrance, which was executed by sir George Vernon at, at least, the end of Henry VIII's reign (1547), if not later, inasmuch as the initials of one of his wives (unfortunately both their Christian names begin with an M) are on the shield carved on the building,—and taking the ages of his daughters at the time of his death, they must have been, respectively, born in 1541 and 1564. But it may be supposed that he executed the works according to the plans previously prepared by sir Henry, and merely introduced his own coat of arms and initials to identify himself with the work. The other is the unusually Gothic character of the Elizabethan work. In Elizabethan buildings, the labels and cornices are generally of an Italian type, with the cyma, ovolo, and corona, and parapets are generally used instead of battlements. I suppose the explanation in this case, is, that the workmen were so accus-

tomed to Gothic treatment and forms of mouldings, that they could not leave them off, and were tempted to continue that which they found existing; the battlemented form of parapet was most likely adopted to carry out the harmonious effect of the sky line.[1] The Italian type of moulding and design is, however, used in the external balustrading in the garden, which is evidently and naturally later than the main building.

Before closing these notes, I cannot refrain from noticing the extreme artistic skill with which the irregularities of the ground are made use of, and the gardens are laid out. They consist of bold lines and terraces, which harmonize with, carry out, and add dignity to, the lines of the building, and, as home gardens always should, they form an integral portion of the design. Very different this from the too common practice of getting an architect to design and build a house, and then setting a landscape gardener or a nurseryman to surround it with twisted gravel-walks and clumps of shrubs, arranged without the slightest reference to the lines, colour, or expression of the building. "Dorothy Vernon's walk", as it is called, is very happily managed; it is not only enjoyable and beautiful in itself, but it forms a noble back ground to the building, and produces a most satisfactory effect of line and colour.

I fear there are some points of interest I may have omitted, or not sufficiently dwelt upon, in these, I am sorry to say, somewhat hurried notes; but I found the investigation of the building more complicated than I expected, and my time was limited. I submit them, therefore, with great diffidence, but at the same time with the great consolation, that whatever points of interest or of beauty I have failed to notice, will not escape the observation of the gentlemen present, who are so well accustomed to investigations of this description.[2]

[1] Perhaps another point ought to be noticed. It has already been said that the "hall" is built on a limestone rock; to form the terraces, gardens, courts, etc., the rock had to be excavated; and instead of carrying away the irregular pieces of limestone thus obtained, they built their walls with them, and have thus obtained an accidental beauty not really contemplated. The straightforward simplicity, the *truth*, of this construction, makes an appeal we cannot resist, and the irregular jointing of the work gives *scale* to the building, and produces a very rich and effective surface.

[2] Having finished my paper, I venture to take this opportunity of making a remark that has often occurred to me. Out of the many owners of Haddon

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. III.

FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE DUKE OF RUTLAND, AT HADDON HALL.

The following ancient instruments were recently exhibited to the Association assembled in Congress at Derby, and, by his grace the duke of Rutland's permission, are accurately copied from and collated with the originals.

1. The first is a charter of John, earl of Morton, afterward king John, granting to Richard de Vernon an annuity of £6 out of the land of Tideswell, in Derbyshire, to be paid by the hands of Warin de Tideswell during his life; with remainder of the said land to the grantee after the death of the said Warin. This charter was dated at Dorchester, on the Sunday next after the octaves of Peter and Paul, 4 Ric. I, viz. 11 July, 1193. It is written in a small, neat hand; the seal is lost.

2. This is followed by another instrument of the same prince, in the form of a writ, directed to his justices, sheriffs, bailiffs, ministers, and all his lieges, licensing Richard de Vernon to fortify his house of "Heddon" (now Haddon hall) with a wall to the height of twelve feet, without *kernel* or battlements, and forbidding him to be disturbed in so doing. It is tested at "Clipeston" (either in Northamptonshire or in Nottinghamshire), but without a note of the time. The earl was evidently exercising a sort of regal authority in the issuing of such a

that are recorded, most of them had two wives, and the majority of monuments one sees of barons, knights, and squires, tell us the deceased had two or more wives. Is it not possible that the influences of the damp rush-covered floors, the imperfectly shutting doors and windows, and the bad drainage of the houses of the olden time, to which the ladies of the family were for the most part confined, might tend to shorten the duration of female life?—The worthy knight was away on his exciting and invigorating sports, but his wife and children were at home. I would also throw out a hint that it would not be difficult to arrange and tabulate the recorded births and deaths of the middle ages, so as to obtain the value of life in those times. Such a document would be very interesting and instructive.

mandate, though apparently in his brother Richard's lifetime. It is indorsed, "A writ patent of the earl John."

3. The next is a bull of pope Alexander IV, dated at Viterbo, 2 id. Mar. anno 4, viz. 14 March, 1258. It is addressed to the bishop of Coventry, setting forth that Richard de Herthull lived in a place remote from the mother church, which at some seasons was inaccessible; that he already had a chapel on his own land, and desired to have a chaplain to serve therein, for whom he was prepared to provide fit support. The matter was therefore referred to his diocesan, to grant license accordingly, if he should deem it expedient. The leaden seal is yet attached to this beautiful little document.

1. Johannes com. Moret. omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Franc. et Anglic. presentibus et futuris: salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Ric. de Vernon. pro homag. et servicio suo vj. libras sterlingorum de terra de Tideswell. per manum Warin. de Tideswell. singulis annis recipiendas quamdiu idem Warinus vixerit, et post mortem ipsius War. tenebit idem Ric. predictam terram et heredes sui de me et heredibus meis per servicium quarte partis j. militis mihi et heredibus meis inde pro omni servicio tam in vita Warin. quam post mortem ipsius faciendum. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod idem Ric. et heredes sui post ipsum habeant et teneant predictum redditum dum idem Warin. vixerit et post mortem eius terram predictam per predictum servicium bene et in pace plenar. et integr. in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in viis et semitis in moris et mariscis in molendinis et stagn. et omnibus aliis locis et libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad terram illam pertinentibus. His testibus. Willelmo de Wenn̄, Regin. de Wassūvill. Engelr. de Pratell. Radulfo de Trublevill. Rob. de Teill. Fulc. de Cantel. Walt. fratre suo. Willelmo de Cantel. et multis aliis. Anno regni domini regis Ric. quarto Dominica proxima post oct. apostolorum Petri et Paul. apud Dorecestr. [= 11 *Jul.* 1193.]

Indorsed by a contemporary hand—"Carta com. Johannis de Tideswell."

2. Johannes com. Moret. justic. vicecom. baillivis ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et licenciam dedisse Ric. de Vern. firmandi domum suum de Heddon. muro exaltato xij. pedibus sine kernello, et idem prohibeo nequis vestrum eum inde disturbet. Test. Rob. de Mara apud Clipeston.

Indorsed by a coeval hand—"Breve patens com. Johannis."

3. Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri .. episcopo Coventren. salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilecti filij nobilis viri Ricardi de Herthull. tue dioc. fuit nobis humiliter supplicatum,

ut cum ipse ideo sit ab ecclesia matrice remotus quod ad eam yemali[1] precipue tempore propter inundationes aquarum et alia viarum discrimina commode non possit accedere pro divinis audiendis officijs et recipiendis alijs ecclesiasticis sacramentis, et ipse quandam capellam in fundo proprio habeat, habendi capellanum proprium in eadem cui paratus est pro ipsius sustentatione de bonis proprijs sufficientes redditus assignare, sibi licentiam concedere dignaremur. Volentes igitur in hac parte tibi deferre qui loci diocesanus existis, fraternitati tuæ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus eidem nobili facienti quod offert, si expedire videris, licentiam postulatam concedas, sine iuris preiudicio alieni. Dat. Viterbij, ij. id. Martij. pontificatus nostri anno quarto. [=14 *Mar.* 1258.]

(On the fold) Jac. Sen.

Indorsed by a hand of the thirteenth century—"Bull. de capell. de Herthull."

On the leaden seal—ALEXANDER · P̄P · IIII.

W. H. B.

ON OLD CHURCH REGISTERS AND OTHER RECORDS.

BY S. T. REED, ESQ.

Having been favoured with a perusal of several of our church registers and other records, which include many curious entries, I have ventured to think that a brief notice of them may be found interesting to the members of this Association, as they relate to many events in connexion with this "Anciente Toune". I shall, however, confine myself almost exclusively to the facts recorded in two of our oldest church registers; those of St. Alkmund's, and All Saints or All Hallows; from which I shall quote collaterally and in chronological order.

In the first page of St. Alkmund's register, which commenced in 1538, is the following entry, containing an injunction from Thomas lord Cromwell (afterwards earl of Essex).

"In y^e^ yeare of our Lord 1538, in y^e^ 30th yeare of y^e^ reign of King Henry 8th, in y^e^ month of September, Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, Vicegerente to y^e^ King's Royal Highness, sent his injunction to all

[1] Sic pro *hiemali*.

Bishops and Curats through the Realme, charging them to God that in every parish Church the Bible of ye largest Volume should be placed for all men to reade on. And that a Book of Register should be also provided and kept in every Parish Church, wherein should be written every Wedding, Christening, and Burying within ye same Parish for ever; in obedience to which this Booke was provided Nov. 9, 1538."

The title of All Saints Register is thus inscribed:—

"The Register Booke for the P'ish of All Saints in Darby, in ytt ye names and surnames of all Personnes who have been Baptized, Married, and Buried in ye same Parish from ye yeare of our Lord 1558."

In the fly-leaf also is the following inscription:—

"A poore Blinde Woman, called Joane Waste, of this Parish, a Martyr, burned in Windmill Pit 1st August 1556."

She is described as "a poore, honest, godlie woman", whose only crimes were, her reading the Scriptures and her adherence to Protestant principles.

In October 1592, Derby was visited by the plague, which continued during twelve months, and then suddenly ceased. In the Arboretum of this town, there is a curious stone, which formerly stood in the Friar Gate, and bore the name of "the Headless Cross", consisting of four quadrangular steps, surmounted by a stone, on the top of which was a small basin, that during the continuance of the plague was filled with vinegar. Hither the market-people brought their provisions, having their mouths filled with tobacco. Standing at a respectful distance from the buyers, they made their bargain, and the money was then deposited in the basin.

In All Saints register, the plague is thus noticed:—

"The Plague began in Darby in ye house of William Sowler, bootcher, in ye Parishe of All Saints in Darby: Robert Wood, Ironmonger, and Robert Brooke Gouge, Tanner, being your bailiffes,[1] are proclaimed in ye Toune for ye space of twelve months, as by ye Register maye appeare."

The beginning of the pestilence is thus significantly noted in St. Alkmund's register in large red ink characters:

"Hic Incipit Pestis Pestifera."

In 1591 (the year preceding the plague) there were 47

[1] Derby was first governed by bailiffs in the reign of Richard III.

deaths in the two parishes of St. Alkmund's and All Saints; whereas in the year of the plague the mortality increased to 381 deaths. And these, it is presumed, did not include large numbers who were buried in Deadman's-lane, in which case the numbers would be greatly increased.

This fearful malady raged with a violence increasing in proportion to the heat of spring and summer. In May there were 49 deaths in the two parishes, in June they increased to 66, and in July to 119 deaths. The numbers decreased in August to 71, in September to 19, and in October to one death in each parish.

In St. Alkmund's register the deaths of the plague are all inscribed in red ink, thus:—

"Obiit morte Thos. Harrison May 3 ex peste."

The deaths, not of the plague, are written in black ink, and thus:—

"Sepulta Johanna, filia Tho. Fisher, Sep. 16."

And the cessation of the malady is prominently inscribed in red ink:—

"Hic desinit Pestis Pestifera. Sit Deo Gratia."

Most of the entries testify that the victims were buried the day of their death.

"Sepultus eodem die."

Also that nearly all the children were baptised the day of their birth. The marriages almost entirely ceased during the pestilence; but (as if to show that they had been but postponed until the awful visitation had passed by) in the first two weeks after its sudden cessation there were nearly as many marriages as during the whole preceding year. It was also recorded that the plague came not near the house of a tanner, a tobacconist, or a shoemaker. Its termination was thus noticed in the All Saints' register:—

"October 1593. About this tyme the plague of pestilence, by the great mercy and goodnesse of Almighty God, stayed, past all expectacion of man, for it ceased upon a sodayne, at whyche tyme it was dispersed in every corner of this whole p'she, there was not two houses together free from it; and yet the Lord bade the angel stay as in Davides' tyme, hys name be blessed for ytt. Edward Bennett, Minister."

In another page of this register appears the following quaint entry of one of the ministers of All Saints':—

"I see no reason why a register for English people should be written in Latin. [Signed] Richard Kilbye, Minister of All Saints, Derby, May 1610."

Of which person, a brass plate in the church furnishes an illustration of the doggerel of the period:—

"Loe Richard Kilbye lyeth here,
Which lately was our ministere,
To th' poore hee ever was a frende,
And gave them all he had at ende;
This toune must twenty shillings paye
To them for him ech Good Fridaye.
God grant all pastors his good mind,
That they may leave good deeds behind.
Hee dyed ye xxi day of Octr. 1617."

In February of the same year it is thus quaintly written:—

"Buryed William Nowman, which was drowned God knoweth howe. O God, be merciful unto us sinners, and grante we maye feare God, and be alwaies prepared to die well. Amen."

The creation of the first mayoralty in Derby is recorded in the following terms:—

"In 1638 Derby made a maior toune, Mr. Henry Mellor,[1] the first maior, died in his mailty, and Mr. John Hope chosen to be maior til Michaelmas 1640. Churchwardens: John Heaton, Wm. Henson."

Shortly after the grant of this charter of mailty, the civil wars commenced between Charles I and his Parliament, on account of which we find this entry:—

"On the 14th of this month [Oct. 1641] this booke delivered to Mr. John Crompton to be kepte."

Upon the 22nd of August 1642, king Charles set up his standard at Nottingham, being joined by about twenty

[1] The following complimentary lines in allusion to his name were dedicated to him. "To Mr. Henry Mellor ye first maire of Derby":

"You seeme the prime bough of an ample tree,
Whereon if fair expected fruits we see,
Whilest others' fames with ranke reproaches meete,
As mel or manna shall your name be sweete."

men from Derby. This event appears in the All Saints' register as follows:—

"The 22nd August 1642. Erectum fuit Nottinghamiæ Vexillum Regale."

And underneath, the Greek inscription:

"πασα βασιλεια μερισθεισα καθ' ἑαυτης ερημουται"
"Matthew xii. 25."

King Charles borrowed of the corporation of Derby £300 and some small arms, *which he never returned!*

In connexion with the pecuniary wants of this unfortunate king, this Association is indebted to sir Henry Wilmot of Chaddesden for the loan of a valuable parchment roll, containing the particulars of a subsidy to Charles I from the county of Derby, A.D. 1627. This document comprises a list of all persons within the hundred of Appletree and the Wapentake of Wirksworth, who were willing to lend sums of money to his majesty Charles I,[1] Robert Wyllymott of *Chaddesden* being appointed to collect them, from whom this roll descended to sir Henry Sacheverell Wilmot.

The heading of the roll is as follows:—

"The rolle indented of y^e^ particular names and surnames of all such persons within y^e^ hundreds of Appletree and Wirksworth wapentake, as have agreed to lende to his maiesty these somes of money following. After the rate of their subsidies according to their last assessment, for the defence of his Majestys kingdoms and maintenance of religion, together with the small somes agreed upon by y^e^ said parties before us the last day of January, in the second year of his Majestys rayne. By virtue of his Majestys commission to us and others directed and hereunto annexed. The one part of which rolle, together with the hande of Robert Wyllymott, Gentleman, whom we have appointed Collectour for the said hundreds, is returned to the right honorable the Lords and others of his Majestys most honorable privy Councelle.

"And the other parte is delivered to the said Collectour, thereby to collect and gather the same as follows."

In this roll are the names of many houses which have been perpetuated to the present day, and whose descendants still reside in Derby and its neighbourhood. Among

[1] But be it observed that those who were *not* willing to lend money *were immediately imprisoned!*

these are "Robert Wyllymott, Godfrey Pole, Charles Cavendysh, Thomas Curzon, esq., sir German Pole, John and Rolande Allsoppe, esqrs.," etc., etc.

The bottom of this roll contains the seals and autographs of "Devonshire", "lord Curzon", "Manners", "H. Legh", "F. Coke", and others.

The concluding extract in the All Saints' register is a notice of y^e^ Irish rebellion.

"On Oct. 1641. This month began y^e^ Rebellion in Irelande, y^e^ Papistes making head against y^e^ Kings loyall subjects, whiche rebellion was filled with most cruel and barbarous deedes."

And the last record worthy of notice in the St. Alkmund's register, is too quaint to be omitted.

"Nov. y^e^ 5th, 1712. Baptized Elizabeth and Honylove, the daughters of John Key. Note. Elizabeth was about three years old; the reason why she was baptized at the same time in the church with Honylove the infant was this; I had sometime before preach'd concerning baptism, and prov'd that dissenting teachers have no authority to baptize; and consequently that children that had been sprinkled by 'em ought to be baptized by an episcopal minister. The father was so fully convinced by what was said, that he came to me to baptize the said child. Gulielmus Cantrell, Minister."

The preceding are a few of the facts contained in these registers, but collected in a desultory manner. The short time, however, that has been devoted to this purpose, has suggested the great importance of very careful researches into old documents and old registers, for, irrespective of the charm such pursuits may possess to the antiquary, by depicting with a vivid portraiture the events—the characters of "old times"—or rather, as we should term them, "young times"; irrespective of such delights as these, there is a far higher and more utilitarian end; inasmuch as these very registers, while they speak to us of the virtues of our forefathers, declare as loudly their delinquencies; unfolding such a tale of lapsed charities and concealed records, as may well prompt those most interested in the subject to a very diligent investigation.

ON THE PRICE OF LEAD IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

BY W. H. BLACK, ESQ.

HAVING lately been asked, by an antiquarian friend, what was the value of lead in the reign of Henry VIII, in the then coinage, I was unable to satisfy him on that point; and therefore determined to examine the books of the clerk of the works for the king's buildings at Hampton court, of which a large and most curious series is in my charge, at the Rolls house. There I found, among the "emptions" or purchases of building materials, a variety of entries respecting the cost of lead and the conveyance of it by water from London to Hampton court; which not only give the price of the fother, but afford notices of the persons from whom it was bought. Of the latter, some are so manifestly connected with Derbyshire, that the supply of lead may be fairly inferred to have been then derived from that important mineral district; and consequently these notices might not be unworthy of being laid before the congress at Derby. Sir Godfrey Foljambe belonged to an eminent Derbyshire family; and as for Henry Smyth, his description "of the Peake" identifies him with the county. William Fyssher of Derby is named also. It is remarkable that the lead appears to have been bought in London, at *Leadenhall*, then perhaps a market for this mineral.

The first extract is taken from an account, headed, "Hampton court. Costes and expensis done there", from 30 June to 26 July, 25 Hen. VIII [1533], in the volume marked "C. 6. 8", p. 155. As usually, first occur the names and attendances of, and the wages paid to, the "freemasons", in their several classes, the "carpenters, briklayers, paynters, plummers, joyners, carters, playsterers, sawers, laborers." The plumbers were few, only five in number; and their wages were 7*d.* a day to each. Then, among the "emptions and provisions", occur the following, which relate to our subject, pp. 168-9:

Empcion of leade, w^t^ *batlage* [*boatage*] of same:

Also payd to Thomas Ofley, stapuller, for xviij fother, xij^c^ iij quarters

xxj lli. of leade, to cover the kynges new hall, at iiij li. vij^{s}. viij^{d}. the fother . . . . . £81 : 16 : 0

Also payd to Ric. Blakewall, gentylman, for vj fother x^{c}. iij quarters of leade, at iiij li. vj^{s}. viij^{d}. the fother . . . . . £28 : 7 : 0

Also payd to ser Godfrey Foliambe, knyght, for one fother v^{c} a quartren and vij lli. of leade, at £4 : 6 : 8 the fother . . . £5 : 10 : 1

Also payd to Thomas Acon, the kynges sergeaunt plummer, for iij fother j^{c} a quartren and xiiij lli. at £4 : 6 : 8 the fother . £13 : 6 : 2

Also payd to maister Babyngton for a *sowe* of leade, *ponderyng* [*weighing*] ix^{c}. xxj lli. . . . . 40^{s}. 6^{d}.

Also payd to Henry Smyth of the Peake, for iiij fother iiij^{c}. xiiij lli. of leade, at £4 : 6 : 8 the fother . . . . . £18 : 4 : 5

Also payd to Thomas Acon, the kynges sergeaunt plummer, for porters for ladyng of the said xxx^{ti} fother of leade, at iiij^{d}. the fother 10^{s}.

Also payd to the same for carriage of the said leade, from Ledenhall to the crane in the Vynttre . . . . . 10^{s}.

Also payd for cranage of the said leade . . . . . 10^{s}.

Also payd for portage and lande carriage of iiij fothers of the said leade, to Dunnyynges wharff, at iiij^{d}. the fother . . . . . 16^{d}.

Also to William Clerke, of Waybridge, for *batlage* of iij fother iiij^{c}. di. of leade from London *tho* [*to*] Hampton court, at viij^{d}. the fother 2^{s}.

Also payd to Henry Trybeke, of Maydenhed, for lyke *batlage* of xxj fother xij^{c} iij quarters and xxj lli. of lyke stuff, at lyke pryce 14^{s}. 4^{d}.

Also payd to Thomas Clarkson of Henley, for *batlage* of ix fother vij^{c} a quartren of the foresaid leade, at viij^{d}. the fother . . . . . 6^{s}.

Empcion of soulder:

Also payd to Thomas Acon, the kynges sergeaunt plummer, for castyng and laying of xj fother xv^{c} j quartren and xxj lli. of leade, at iiij^{d}. the c., 76^{s}. 7$\frac{3}{4}$^{d}. Also for ccc lli. of soulder, at iiij^{d}. the lli. 112^{s}. wyth 31^{s}. 10^{d}. for lyke castyng and laying of iiij fother xvij^{c} di. at lyke pryce, layd uppon the gutters of the kynges new tennys play, and the new galary; in all . . . . . £11 : 0 : 5$\frac{3}{4}$

In other parts of the same volume occur the following entries, among others less remarkable:

Page 295.] Also payd to Thomas Omfrey, of London, merchaunt, for xvj *sowys* of leade, ponderyng viij fother, iiij^{c} vij lli. of leade, of hym bought and delyverd at London, at £4 : 15 : 0 the fother £38 : 19 : 6

This also was carried "from Leddenhall to the crane in the Vyntre", and conveyed by water to Hampton court.

Page 479.] Item *dieu* [*due*] to Thomas Pinter of London for ij foder of Peeke lead, of hym boght at cvj^{s}. viij^{d}. the foder.

Summa . . . £10 : 13 : 4

Ibid.] Item dieu to Wylliam Fyssher of Darbye, for j foder & iij^{c} of hym lyke boght, price the foder [*the price omitted*] . . £6 : 2 : 11

By reducing these items, it appears that the *fother* then consisted of 19½ cwt. as yet stated in the law-books to be customary in London; and that the price of lead was about one-halfpenny per pound. Assuming the penny at that time to have been equal to the penny-weight of silver (though I believe it was less), the proportionate value is as ten grains to seven thousand grains (regard being had to the difference between troy-weight and avoirdupois-weight), that is, lead was $\frac{1}{700}$ part of the value of silver.

By the following entry in a "Book of work begun on Sunday the 13th day of June, and ended Saturday the 26th", 21 Hen. VIII [1529], "both days accompted", it appears that the *sow of lead* was the eighth part of the fother.

Bat. [*boatage*] of leade, being of the kinges store, from Westmynster to Hampton Courte, by the vertu of the kinges warraunt directed to John Parker, Keper of the Kynges place there, and to Thomas Flower, Clerke of the Kinges wourkes, for the delyvere of the seid leade.

Dieu[1] to John Edmound of Kingston for the bat. [*boatage*] of all the seid leade from West. forscid to Hampton Courte, cont[aining] in nombre xlij^{ti} *sowes*, wich makythe in foders v. and vj^{c}. at viij^{d}. every foder . . . . . 4^{s}

(C. 6, 10, pages 83, 93.)

These scanty facts are contributed to the congress, in hope that some person resident in Derbyshire may make better use of them than I can, or be encouraged thereby to contribute more largely than I can to the mineral history of this county.

[1] *Due:* but in the margin it is marked *sol.*, i.e. paid. It is to be observed that numeral *letters* (not figures) occur throughout the original record, whence these extracts are taken.

British Archæological Association.

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING.

DERBY.—1851.

AUGUST 18TH TO 23RD INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

Monday, August 18.

A Meeting of the General Committee, Douglas Fox, Esq., the Mayor of Derby, in the Chair, was held, at four o'clock, in the apartments of Henry J. Stevens, Esq., honorary local secretary, when the arrangements as to reading of papers; exhibition of specimens of antiquity in the Museum at the Athenæum; confirmation of the orders established relating to the excursions; etc., were made, and at six o'clock an ordinary took place at the Royal Hotel, sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., President, in the Chair.

The first General Meeting was held, at eight o'clock in the evening, at the rooms of the Athenæum, when the President delivered an Inaugural Address (see pp. 179-190 ante). Upon the motion of T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., seconded by James Heywood, Esq., M.P., the thanks of the meeting were voted to the President for his interesting and instructive address.

T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., then proceeded to offer some cursory remarks on the study of antiquities, which he had ever regarded as an essential branch of polite learning, and connected, in the most intimate manner, with the most refined and most useful parts of science. The inquiry, he observed, embraced subjects of great extent, and the interest of its views was most enticing. There is a peculiar charm connected with the consideration of its various objects, looking back as it does to times of so remote a period as to admit of the impartial exercise of the judgment, and to be necessarily accompanied by those feelings which are connected with subjects whose very nature, if only from their age, must be regarded as hallowed and almost sacred. The manner in which antiquarian researches are now carried on, has removed from those who devote themselves to such objects of inquiry, the reproaches formerly so generally, and in many instances but too justly, ascribed. *Curiosity* alone is not the engagement of the antiquary—other and higher motives impel him to action—he has to trace the memory of past ages, and to consider events and characters long since passed away and never to return. It has been well observed that there is "an involuntary attachment to that which is irrecoverably snatched from our presence, and removed beyond the reach of our hopes and wishes", which we daily experience while we view the monuments of those who have passed, perhaps but few years, to the irreversible destiny of human nature; and the sensations which we feel are seemingly

excited, not more by the suggestion of the *general* lot of humanity, than by the reflection that they are *gone for ever*. That the obscurest vestiges of antiquity are to be regarded with a kind of religious awe may easily be conceived if we only for a moment consider what must be the feelings of one who is engaged in a survey of those places on which were once determined the fate of nations—the foundation of an empire—the establishment of laws and a form of government on which was to depend the liberty or slavery of a people. With what anxiety must we regard the characters which distinguish those who have rendered themselves remarkable in the mass of mankind, and handed their names down to the reverence and admiration of posterity for their virtues and their talents—the services they have rendered by the invention of arts which contribute to the use and ornament of life and the additions they have made to the stores of science. Not only do we derive pleasure and gratification from the consideration of the various monuments of antiquity having reference to public life—those resulting from reflection upon domestic convenience and relations are no less interesting. The monuments recording and establishing these events, either in sculpture or by other methods of art, kindle in us the most lively sensations. An assemblage of these necessarily leads to a comparison of the state of art under which they have been executed, and enables us to mark its progress in the course of time and human civilization. This again will lead us to a consideration of ancient manners and customs, and carry us back to the simplicity or extravagance of former ages.

It has been frequently attempted to class antiquities either into those which are political, as regarding the ancient manners and customs of a people, or those which are monumental, as exhibiting specimens of ancient art. The arts and sciences will, however, be found to be so intimately blended with the manners and customs of the times, that this division can only be looked upon rather as an arrangement for convenience of description than as essentially correct or distinct. The arts especially, it has been shown, which receive their form and perfection, as well as derive their origin in great measure from the finer feelings of the mind, bear so lively an image of the character of the people by whose united effort they have been cultivated, that an accurate investigation of their origin and progress, their revolutions and comparative analogy, together with the monuments of them which have descended to posterity, while it explains the causes which operated on their progress, affords the most effectual means of learning the genius and manners of the various nations of the world.

Mr. Pettigrew then enlarged upon one of the chief objects engaged in this inquiry, namely, into the language of a people, marking its several changes from its simple to its most complicated forms, and thus deriving information as to the origin and progress of various important customs

and institutions as often deducible from the occupations and amusements of rude uncultivated nature. The style of the language of a people, he endeavoured to show, bore impress of their pursuits and habits, and their expressions were necessarily tinctured by their pursuits. To illustrate this, he referred to a learned critic (Burgess), who had demonstrated that the inhabitants of the rough and barren Attica, early habituated to naval affairs and commerce, have left no obscure testimony of their situation and manners in a dialect, which, rough in its pronunciation, while it retained many of the simplest and oldest forms, contracted others, and thus became suited to dispatch and business. The most daring metaphors derived from naval affairs abound in the writings of the Attic poets: from which however the interval of two thousand years has worn off that disgusting appearance, which in similar expressions frequent also in our own language and from the same cause, the homeliness of familiar usage renders so unfit for the sublimer kinds of poetry. While the Romans, ambitious only of dominion, whose delight was in war, and whose very profession was the sword, drew their metaphors from the camp, and thus transfused into their language, as well as civil government, the image of the common genius. Not only in language, continued Mr. Pettigrew, are these phases in the progress of manners to be observed, they are also depicted with equal force by the architecture of the nation; and their spirit, their luxuries, and their refinement are to be observed in the several compositions of their architects: austere, as with the Dorians; simple and elegant, as with the Ionians; rich and luxurious, as with the Corinthians. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, one of the most judicious of Grecian critics, in discussing the different species of composition, reduces them to three classes: the nervous and austere, the smooth and florid, and the middle, which partakes of the two others. This has been ingeniously applied to the respective styles of architecture. "The Dorians exhibited an order of building like the style of their Pindar,—like Æschylus, like Thucydides. The Corinthians gave their architecture that appearance of delicacy and effeminate refinement which characterises the language of Isocrates. But the Ionians struck out that happy line of beauty, which, participating of the simplicity of the one without its harshness, and of the elegance of the other without its luxuriance, exhibited that perfection of style, which is adjudged to their great poet and his best imitators. Such an art, among such a people, could not but produce the most exquisite models of beauty and magnificence. But those models are no more. And it is impossible even in idea (which they can form most adequately, who are best acquainted with this study), to look towards those plains once covered with flourishing cities, the soil of liberty and science, the glory of the universe, now strewed with ruins of their past magnificence, without feeling the most sensible regret at the instability of human grandeur."

The examination of specimens of ancient architecture forms one of the chief objects of the antiquary, and to his labours in this field we are indebted for much valuable information on the subjects of history, geography, and chronology. Painting, sculpture, and medals have all contributed their aid to the illustration of domestic life, and made us familiar with the customs and ceremonies as handed down to us in the writings of the poets, geographers and historians. They have given to us much light on the subject of their religious and political institutions. The inscriptions on the marbles and coins have confirmed the decrees for which the former were often inscribed, and the succession of monarchs, and the greater events of their times have obtained a lasting remembrance in the latter. But it is to history that we must turn our eyes, if we need any further information of the value of the study of antiquities. There is no part of history that has not received elucidation from the labours of the antiquary: obscurities have been illustrated, deficiencies have been supplied, the statements of ancient authorities have received either confirmation, refutation, or explanation, and chronology and geography have been with more or less accuracy established. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton has well observed, that "to all who in history look to the connexion between causes and effects, chronology is not a dry and mechanical compilation of barren dates, but the explanation of events, and the philosophy of fact". To refer to a branch of antiquities with which Mr. Pettigrew had made himself more especially familiar, he simply directed attention to the value of the researches made by our Egyptian travellers and scholars, and the certainty with which (now that the language on the Egyptian monuments is no longer a mystery—that the hieroglyphics do not form a mere accumulation of unmeaning and unknown characters and symbols) the period is ascertained in which almost every monument and ancient temple of Egypt was erected. The purpose also of its establishment is determined by the characters impressed upon it—by the name of the sovereign which is thereon incised, and the precise order of the succession of the Egyptian monarchs, as seen in the tablets of Abydus and Karnak, confirms our knowledge on these subjects. History had, he was bold to say, by the discovery of the key to the hieroglyphics, acquired a certainty which had never before been achieved with regard to its statements as handed down to us by the great historians of former ages.

Confining himself, however, more especially to our own country and to those objects in particular which are embraced by the British Archæological Association, he proceeded to allude to the study of monumental antiquities, from which so much useful information had resulted. Groves and altars, tombs, pillars, and heaps of stones are to be regarded as the representative symbols of past transactions and memorials to instruct posterity. Truly, indeed, had it been remarked, that the love and reverence of antiquity is so congenial with the natural curiosity of

the human mind, that we seldom view but with a kind of pleasing melancholy any venerable memorial of former times. The mind is seized in the contemplation of them with a variety of sensations which it finds difficult to discriminate, a mixture of pain and pleasure which it is unable to explain. But when we carry this temper of mind to the examination of the monuments of our own ancestors, their claim to our veneration becomes more powerful, and their address to our fancy more lively; while the reflections they suggest, and the interest which we involuntarily take in them, complete the delightful illusion. With what emotion do we look upon the remains of an ancient castle! In surveying those proud monuments of feudal splendour and magnificence, who does not immediately summon before him those gorgeous pageants and displays which were once presented amidst those venerable ruins?

Mr. Pettigrew then enlarged upon the genius of chivalry and its probable effects in the refinement of manners, citing the opinion expressed by bishop Hurd in his *Dialogue on the Age of Queen Elizabeth*, "that the gallantry displayed by the combatants in the feats of the tournament had produced no ill effects upon morals; on the contrary, that youth in general had by them been fired with the love of martial exercises, and early formed to habits of fatigue and enterprise. This warlike spirit was also favourable to other virtues—affability, courtesy, generosity, veracity, etc." After illustrations in evidence of this opinion, Mr. Pettigrew passed in review from gay and enlivening scenes to those of a more serious and graver signification, in relation to monumental antiquities and the history of monasteries. After alluding to the anomaly presented by the latter, and the perversions that had been practised, he yet considered that whatever had been the licentiousness, indolence, or ignorance exhibited, they had nevertheless proved to have been the depositories of the writings of the most valuable ancient authors and of arts and sciences that had been beneficial to mankind, and that they had served to prevent the surrounding barbarism of dark ages from entirely extinguishing the light of classical learning. Mr. Pettigrew concluded his address by allusion to the devotional feelings produced by an inspection and observation of ancient places of worship, and to the value derived even from an examination of the funereal monuments contained within them, not only as aiding genealogical inquiries, but also as preserving records of the amiable virtues of many a private character from the oblivion to which otherwise they must have been consigned, and affording information regarding others which have produced researches among ancient records, to the advantage and illustration of history. The field, said Mr. Pettigrew, open to the antiquary, and upon which his researches are exercised, will be found to be very comprehensive, and nothing can be more needed than associations like our own for the true and complete elucidation of their varied subjects. Each branch throws light on the

other, and communion with each other serves to eradicate bigoted and illiberal sentiments.

Sir Fortunatus Dwarris read a paper on the Local Laws, Courts, and Customs of Derbyshire. (See pp. 190-199 *ante*.)

W. Eaton Mousley, esq., (the steward of the Great Barmote court,) said that he had had the honour of presiding as steward of the Great Barmote court for more than twenty years, and that the strange anomalies to which sir Fortunatus Dwarris had alluded, were very easily explained, particularly when it was considered that the court itself was established at a very remote period in the history of this country, and consisted partly of a court of law, and partly of a court of equity, and that at each Barmote court not only was a jury of twenty-four impannelled for the purpose of determining any question sought to be established by custom, but also a jury of twelve to be impannelled to try all questions between the queen and her lessee, and the miner and adventurer; for instance, supposing a question as to trespass should arise, or the miner or adventurers should refuse to act upon articles framed upon the customs, the twenty-four were called out, or a portion of the twenty-four, to view the spot in question, and to direct what should be done, so as to afford a speedy and cheap remedy in the first instance; but supposing the parties could not agree, then they had a right to have the question in dispute disposed of at the Barmote court, by a jury to be impannelled for the purpose; and there was also a right of appeal to the duchy court of Lancaster; all the customs of the Queen's Field were duly recorded amongst the muniments of the duchy of Lancaster; and although it had been stated by sir Fortunatus Dwarris, that a custom was shown to prevail from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary (or from Richard I coming from the Holy Land), yet the late prescription act had much narrowed the difficulty of that proof, and he had never yet seen any serious obstacle in ascertaining the rights of the miner and adventurer.

In sir Fortunatus Dwarris's paper, he had described the *stowses* as an emblem of possession; he had described the grooves and meres of land set out to enable the miner and adventurer to work the mine, with certain exceptions, and other regulations, which were acted upon at the present day; but he had failed to describe the interest each miner took in his particular privileges, and how accurately they were handed down from generation to generation by the different miners. He (Mr. Mousley) agreed that in modern times the rights of parties should be simplified, and he should be glad to see any declaratory law securing the rights of the queen, and the owners of the soil, as well as the miner and adventurer. Mr. Mousley concluded by acknowledging the ingenuity of sir F. Dwarris's paper, and by remarking, that he thought all great changes should be approached with care and caution.

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Tuesday, August 19th.

Excursions to Chesterfield, Bolsover, Hardwick, and South Wingfield Manor.

This morning, the Association started by special train at eight o'clock, and arrived at Chesterfield station a quarter before nine, where they were met on the platform by the venerable archdeacon Hill, Godfrey Heathcote, esq., the mayor of Chesterfield, J. G. Cottingham, esq., etc., and were by them conducted to the church: on entering which, some excellent music was performed on a very fine organ. The party proceeded towards the altar, pleased with the general effect of the interior of the edifice, and by the appearance of two stained glass windows which embellish the church. The monuments are numerous; those of the Foljambe family in this church date from the close of the fifteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century. There is a fine altar tomb of the time of Edward IV, round the sides of which are canopied niches with figures of knights and ladies on them, elaborately sculptured, and highly illustrative of the costume of the time. Upon this tomb, "some person or persons unknown", but who ought to be indicted for the offence, has or have placed a kneeling warrior of the reign of Elizabeth, or perhaps James I, the head of which having been broken off or lost, the same barbarians have supplied the head of another effigy. That it is not the one belonging to the figure, although of the same material, and probably also of the same date, is evident from the circumstance that there is more neck attached to it than was required by the headless trunk it surmounts, and which is rendered ludicrous by the preposterous length it has thus attained. It is to be hoped the proper authorities will remove this effigy from the beautiful tomb it disfigures, particularly as its old position in the church appears to be remembered. In the south aisle, in an arched recess, but not its original resting-place, is a very early effigy of an ecclesiastic, supposed to be the founder of the edifice. (See plate xxix, fig. 1.)

The general architecture of the church inside was much admired, as a good specimen of the ecclesiastical architecture of the fourteenth century. Externally, the very singular aspect of the well-known twisted and distorted spire excited attention, and was variously criticised.

On quitting the church, sir Oswald Mosley, on the part of the Association, expressed their thanks to the venerable archdeacon of Derby for his kind attention.

The Association then proceeded on their road to Bolsover Castle, where they were received and entertained in the most courteous and hospitable manner by the rev. J. Hamilton Gray and his accomplished lady.

The ancient Norman castle of Bolsover, which had been built by the Peverels, fell into the hands of the crown on the ruin of that potent family, and continued to be a strong government fortress during many ages. It was confided to the care of a long series of knightly and baronial governors, and from time to time it cost the crown large sums for repairs and embellishments. At length, it was granted by the crown to the earl of Shrewsbury, and by him it was given, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, to sir Charles Cavendish, the younger son of his countess, the renowned Elizabeth Hardwick.

The countess commenced, and sir C. Cavendish completed, the rebuilding of the present castellated mansion on the foundations of the ancient Norman keep. And by the side of the castle, sir Charles commenced, and his son, the first duke of Newcastle, completed, the splendid palace, now in ruins, which crowns the noble terrace, and commands a magnificent view of the rich and picturesque scenery of Scarsdale. Here king Charles I and Henrietta Maria were royally entertained, and on this terrace was performed Ben Jonson's masque of Love's Welcome, which was composed in their honour. After long years of exile, the duke of Newcastle spent a portion of his latter years in this favourite residence, and here he kept a part of his famous stud. The riding-house, so celebrated in his work on the manége, is still in good preservation. About a hundred years ago, the palace on the terrace was unroofed, and it has since then been kept in good order, as a picturesque ruin, by the dukes of Rutland, who represent, in the female lines, the dukes of Newcastle, of the race of Cavendish. The Elizabethan reproduction of the Norman keep has always been in excellent repair, and for the last twenty years it has been inhabited by the rev. John Hamilton Gray, vicar of Bolsover, by whom it has been furnished in the early English style, in the profusion of English and foreign ancient carvings; so that it may be said to be no bad specimen of an ancient English mansion, adapted to the elegancies of modern society. It is difficult to conceive a more beautiful and striking view than that which is enjoyed from the rampart which surrounds the old garden, and which is on the site of the fortifications surrounding the keep. The whole town of Bolsover was formerly fortified, and the earthworks can be plainly traced which encircled that part of it which was not already defended by the precipice on which it stands. The interior of Bolsover Castle well corresponds with its picturesque exterior. The early Norman features have been preserved and modified according to Elizabethan taste. The drawing-room and dining-hall are supported on central pillars, and have beautifully arched and carved roofs. The same may be said of the others in the basement story. The largest room in the house is the star-chamber, so called from its stellated roof, constructed by the duke of Newcastle in imitation of the too celebrated star-chamber of his unfortunate master. And it is

curious that here there are copies of the paintings of the twelve Cæsars which are said to have been hung in the star-chamber. This room is fitted up as a library and museum. As Mr. Hamilton Gray and his lady (who is the authoress of the *History of Etruria*, the *History of Rome*, the *History of the Roman Emperors*, and *A Tour to the Sepulchres of Ancient Etruria*) have made a considerable collection of curiosities, it may be interesting and useful to subjoin a list of the principal of these.

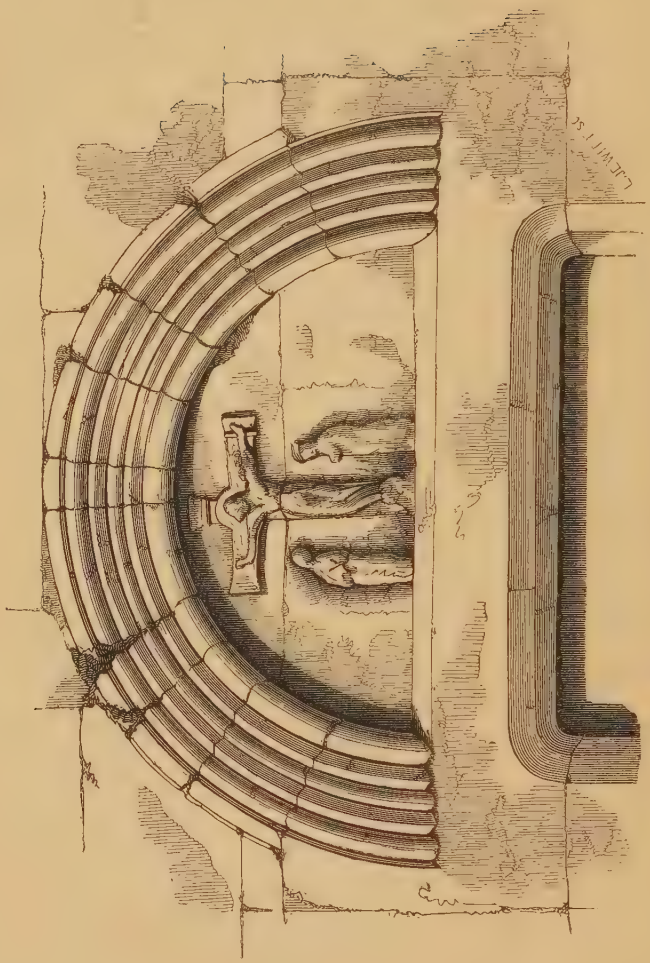
1. Collection of about seventy Etruscan and Magna Grecian vases, tazze, and other vessels. Some of them are of large size, great rarity, and uncommon beauty.—Tazza, with a Bacchanalian procession.—Tazza, with a funeral banquet.—Large amphora, with an heroic procession.—Hydria, with Hercules and Nereus.—Amphora, with Œdipus and the Sphinx.—Hydria, with procession of divinities, in archaic style.—Hydria, with water-drawers.—Amphora, with allegorical representation of the beginning and end of the Trojan war.—Amphora, with quaint and very curious groups, in a singular style, in imitation of the archaic.—Pseudo-Egyptian vase.—Mystic funeral tray, filled with quaint and odd vessels, found at Chiusi.

2. Collection of one hundred and fifty Etruscan scarabæi in onyx and cornelian, some of them of uncommon value from the rarity of the subjects engraved on them and the beauty of the execution.—Large collection of Grecian and Roman intaglii, some of them of great beauty.

3. Collection of Roman coins, chiefly imperial, and containing a nearly perfect series from Augustus to the lower empire.—A complete series of the ancient AS and its subdivisions, as also of the reduced AS and its subdivisions.

4. Collection of Stuart relics.—Original portrait of the cardinal duke of York, which hung in his palace at Frascati.—Bronze medal of the cardinal, which belonged to himself.—Seal ring, which belonged to the cardinal, engraved with a portrait of Mary queen of Scots, beautifully executed.—Mitre and berretta of the cardinal duke of York.—Massive silver-mounted pistols, which belonged to prince Charles Edward.—Original miniature of prince Charles Edward, beautifully painted.—Very large map, in which is traced the expedition of Charles Edward, in 1645, and his subsequent wanderings. This map belonged to the prince, and only four copies of it are known to exist.—Watch, in a case of filagree gold, made at Rouen, and which belonged to Mary queen of Scots, and was presented by her to the marchioness of Hamilton.

Upon quitting the Castle, a visit was paid to BOLSOVER CHURCH, under the guidance of the rev. J. Hamilton Gray, when attention was directed to a sculpture of the crucifixion over the chancel door, which dates back to a very early period, probably anterior to the conquest (see plate XXX), and resembles, in a very striking manner, the sculpture represented in page 80, *ante*, taken from St. Dunstan's, Stepney.



Sculpture over the Chancel Door of Bolsover Church.

Bolsover Church is unquestionably ancient, and the greater part of it early English; but some pillars and piers, which are Norman, have been preserved.

Quitting Bolsover, the Association proceeded to HARDWICK HALL, where a cordial reception awaited them from his grace the duke of Devonshire, under the superintendance of J. G. Cottingham, esq.

This magnificent relic of the pomp and splendour of the Elizabethan age is justly celebrated. It is a conspicuous example of the style of architecture that prevailed at that time, when the noble founders of the numerous stately mansions then erected seemed to consider vast size and enormous space as indispensable marks of dignity; a characteristic that was occasionally swelled out to a useless and almost ruinous extent. Camden, in his *History of queen Elizabeth*, after noticing the extravagance of the nobility and gentry of the age, adds:—"And with it crept in riotous banquetting and prodigal bravery in building; 'for now there began more noblemens and private mens houses to be builded here and there through England, and those neat large and sumptuous edifices, than in any other age before; and, verily, to the great ornament of the kingdom, but to as great decay of the glorious hospitality of the nation."

Hardwick Hall is remarkable for the immense size of the windows in proportion to the superficies of the wall. The increased number of the windows in the houses of queen Elizabeth's time caused lord Bacon to remark, "that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sunne." The building is one of the very few of its class that remain in their original state, having undergone no material change either within or without; the furniture even being mostly of a date coeval with the building.

The walls of this celebrated mansion are hung with probably the most curious and interesting tapestry in the kingdom. The hall is decorated with some very beautiful specimens of Flemish manufacture, or at least design, of the seventeenth century. On one part of it is a representation of bear-hunting, and in another of otter-hunting. In the chapel, which is on the first floor, is a very rich and curious altar cloth, thirty feet long, hung round the rails of the altar, with figures of saints under canopies wrought in needlework of the fifteenth century. The great dining-room is on the same floor, over the chimney piece of which are the arms of the countess of Shrewsbury, with the date of 1597. A very remarkable apartment in this interesting edifice is the state room, or room of audience as it is called; it is spacious and richly decorated, measuring sixty-four feet nine inches long, by thirty-three feet wide, and twenty-six feet four inches high; at one end of it is a canopy, or cloth of state, under which the noble owner sat to receive his guests on great occasions; and in another part a bed, the hangings of which are very ancient. This

room is hung with tapestry, on which is represented the story of Ulysses; over this, are figures rudely executed in plaster in bas-relief, among which is a representation of Diana and her nymphs. The effect of this room, from the elaborate and quaintly carved and coloured cornice, of allegorical design, and the dull and sombre tints of the tapestry, has a very antique air. The ceiling, in all probability, was left unfinished when the house was built.

The long gallery, so called from its great length, one hundred and sixty-six feet by about twenty-six feet wide, is a majestic apartment, exhibiting the prevailing passion for size and extent before alluded to. In the last bay of the gallery Mr. Charles Baily called Mr. Planché's attention to a piece of tapestry nearly covered by the pictures traced upon it, which proved upon examination to be of the earliest part of the fifteenth century (say 1420);[1] the figures exhibiting the horn and heart-shaped headdresses, temp. Henry V and Henry VI, and other characteristic features of that period, recalling the miniatures in Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund*, Harleian MS. 2278, and the Royal MS. 15 D. 3. A request was made to his grace that this exceedingly rare relic of the loom might be preserved from further injury, by the removal of the pictures or of the tapestry itself. The walls are covered with a large collection of pictures, all of them portraits of eminent persons; conspicuous among them are Henry VIII, the queen of Scots, sir Thomas More, lady Jane Grey, cardinal Pole, bishop Gardiner, queen Elizabeth, the philosopher Hobbes, an equestrian portrait of the first duke of Devonshire, etc. This apartment extends not the whole length of the eastern side of the house, as stated by Lysons; but only between the angle turrets.

The grand staircase is of an extremely plain but massive character; it is built entirely of stone, and is of vast extent, in harmony with the rest of the building; it is hung with very fine tapestry, which relieves the bareness of the stone work.

The exterior of Hardwick is of a very imposing character, from its loftiness and unity of design. The parapet is curious, as exhibiting the initials of the foundress, E. S., and her arms in pierced stone carving; a conceit in vogue at that time.

Hardwick was built, as is well known, by the celebrated countess of Shrewsbury, one of the most remarkable women of her time, not only as having had the custody of the hapless Mary queen of Scots, but as an instance of the passion for personal and family aggrandisement, in which she indulged with extraordinary energy and success.

An erroneous impression prevails that the unfortunate Mary was confined in this house; but it is certain that the building was not commenced until four years after her death. The second floor of the mansion is said

[1] There is another piece of tapestry on which, according to Lysons, appears the date 1478, but which should be read 1578.

to have been allotted for the residence of the royal prisoner, and the rooms are shown as retaining their furniture in the same state as when she inhabited them. Over the door of a bed-room, said to have been appropriated to her, are the arms of the queen of Scots, with her cypher. And there is a portrait of the queen in one of the apartments, said to have been painted in the tenth year of her captivity.[1] A bed, a set of chairs, and a suit of hangings, are shown as having been the work of the royal captive; it is very probable that they were; we have proof that she was fond of needlework, in a letter from Mr. White to sir William Cecil, giving an account of an interview he had with Mary queen of Scots in 1568, at Tutbury castle. He says: "She says that all day she wrought with her nydill, and that the diversity of the colours made the work seem less tedious, and contynued so long at it, till very payne made her give it over."[2] All this furniture might have been used by queen Mary, but was probably brought from Chatsworth when that mansion was rebuilt about a century ago.

At a small distance from Hardwick hall are considerable remains of an older house, but from the style of architecture it could not have been erected many years before the present mansion. It is now in a ruinous state; one of the rooms remains entire; it is about fifty-five feet long by thirty feet wide, and twenty-four feet high; the sides are wainscotted, and ornamented with ionic pilasters. Over the large chimney-piece are colossal figures, one on each side, in Roman armour, reaching to the cornice, from which this room has obtained the appellation of "the giant's chamber".

Having inspected Hardwick, the company sat down to a magnificent collation; after partaking of which, sir Oswald Mosley called upon the Association to express their thanks to the duke of Devonshire for his kind condescension in permitting them to view in so perfect a manner the treasures of Hardwick hall, and proposed the health of his grace.

J. G. Cottingham, esq., in responding, said that he should communicate their thanks to his grace the duke of Devonshire, who was very anxious that the members of the Society should have every opportunity of inspecting anything they deemed worthy of a visit, and that they should receive at Hardwick all the hospitality which the old hall could afford. For himself, he had been very happy in being the humble instrument of carrying out his grace's intention.

Mr. Pettigrew said that next to the pleasure which all felt in being permitted to drink the health of the duke of Devonshire—a noble patron of science and art, who knew well how truly and thoroughly to estimate the emanations of genius—they would feel highly gratified in paying a similar tribute of respect to sir Oswald Mosley, bart., the President of

[1] This portrait is not in the list of portraits mentioned in the will of the countess of Shrewsbury as being at Hardwick.

[2] Haynes' *State Papers*, p. 510.

the Archæological Association. It would be unnecessary for him to say anything in favour of their President, to whom they were deeply indebted for the valuable address he had delivered to them on the preceding evening, or to say one word in praise of the Association, or the manner in which the duties incumbent upon the presidency had been discharged by sir Oswald Mosley. The worthy baronet's address, so useful and extensive, showed that not a doubt could remain of the value of institutions like the present, in connection with which antiquaries possessing different opinions went about and discussed objects of interest in various parts of the country. There was no quackery about the Society. The antiquities could not come to them, therefore they must go to the antiquities; they could not take Hardwick hall to London, consequently they must make a tour to it, revel in the historical associations which it called up in the mind, and obtain that benefit which it was the essential object of the Association to bestow. He proposed the health of sir Oswald Mosley, and success to the Archæological Association.

Sir Oswald Mosley replied, saying that he was always willing to devote any humble efforts on his part which could in any way benefit the county of Derby. Everywhere they had met with the kindest attention, and he could not sit down without proposing the health of Mr. Cottingham.

Mr. Cottingham felt very great pleasure in meeting the members of the Archæological Association. He was thankful to have been permitted to take a part in the proceedings of the day, and was gratified to find that what he had done had met with their approval.

Sir Oswald Mosley again rose and said, that not only had they had the honour of inspecting the beauties and antiquities of Hardwick, but they also had had the pleasure and satisfaction of visiting Bolsover, where they were much indebted to the hospitality of the rev. Mr. and Mrs. Gray. He felt they could not separate upon that occasion without drinking the health of Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton Gray.

The rev. J. H. Gray acknowledged the compliment, saying that he and Mrs. Gray felt it to be a very high honour that the British Archæological Association had visited Bolsover, and he hoped that that and their other visits would be productive of good.

Returning to Chesterfield, the Association directed its course to view the ruins of South Wingfield manor, arriving at half-past six o'clock, where they were met and received by the rev. Mr. Halton, the owner of the estate.

The rev. J. R. Errington, vicar of Ashbourne, delivered an address, giving an historical and descriptive account of the manor house, and conducted the party throughout the whole structure, minutely describing its several points and peculiarities. This paper, with illustrations, will appear in the next number of the *Journal*.

The Association not returning to Derby until past nine in the evening, the meeting intended for the reading of papers was necessarily abandoned.

Wednesday, August 20th.

The excursions arranged for this day were Chatsworth, Bakewell, Yolgrave, and Haddon Hall.

Chatsworth was taken *en route* to Bakewell, by the kind favour of the duke of Devonshire, and the Association had the opportunity not only of witnessing the variety of fountains in the grounds in full operation, but also the different objects so highly worthy of attention within and without the mansion. Intelligence received that morning of the death of the earl of Clare, deprived the Association of the high honour of being received by his grace, but they were met by the hon. G. H. Cavendish, M.P., and by him and Mr. Paxton conducted over the grounds.

Under the guidance of Mr. Paxton, all the well-known wonders of the gardens were shown—the magnificent cascade, the tree fountain, the picturesque rocks and boulders, artistically heaped up, forming savage passes, covered with heaths and wild flowers, and watered by offshoots from the numerous fountains. Passing quickly through these fairy scenes, the party were shown the great conservatory, where tropical plants and trees flourish almost as well as in their native soil. Mr. Paxton explained the method of heating this conservatory. In winter, the further end is raised to a higher temperature than the other, and the effect of it is to create a regular current of air through the house. He recommended, that if the "Crystal Palace" should ever be turned into a winter garden, the central part should be raised to a higher temperature than the two ends, in order that the parts adjacent to the centre might enjoy a really tropical climate—namely, heat, with a strong current of air. After taking a farewell glance of the great fountain, which was shooting up a cloud of water to a height of upwards of two hundred and sixty feet, the Association proceeded to Bakewell, and upon their arrival at the church, were received by the rev. H. K. Cornish, the vicar, and F. Barker, esq., member of the Association, who kindly undertook the task of exhibiting the various objects of interest, and from whom a paper will appear, with illustrations, in the next number of the *Journal*.

The present edifice is a cruciform structure, of considerable size (about one hundred and fifty feet long, by one hundred and five feet across the transepts), of lofty elevation, and erected at different periods, but externally presenting a general uniformity of outline, from its flat roofs and battlements, probably added early in the fifteenth century. From the centre of the building rises an octagonal tower, which rests upon a square base with the angles boldly cut off, and is surmounted by a lofty spire. The whole structure is now in the Gothic style of architecture, except the richly decorated Norman doorway in the west end. The nave is supposed to have been erected in 1110; it was separated from the side

aisles by rude semicircular Norman arches. The other parts were most probably erected during the fifteenth century on the old foundations, when additions were made.

From the apparent insecurity of the building in 1825, the lofty spire was taken down; and in 1841, the tower, with the whole of the north and south transepts and the Vernon chapel were pulled down and rebuilt.

In digging the foundations for the new building, a number of incised gravestones or coffin lids, with crosses and various devices cut upon them, of very early date, were discovered, together with fragments of stones carved with the interlacing bands or knots which are usually considered characteristic of those ancient monuments often termed Runic crosses. These remains, which may be seen in the porch of the church, include about fifty-seven gravestones, and five headstones; and about eighteen others are in the possession of Thomas Bateman, esq. (some of which have been figured in this *Journal*, see vol. ii, pp. 256-8, 303-4); making altogether the largest collection of the kind in any church in England. Numerous as these examples are, it is much to be regretted that nearly four times the number were used in the foundations of the new wall.

In addition to the remains already mentioned, there are other monuments of an interesting character:—

On the south side of the nave is that of sir Godfrey Foljambe, of Hassop, who died in 1378, and his lady Avena, who died in 1383, with half-length figures, carved in alabaster, in alto relievo, under a canopy. (See cut.) He is represented in a pointed helmet, and plate armour; over his head is a shield with the arms of Foljambe, a bend between six escallop shells. Over the lady is a shield of arms, being semee of fleurs-de-lis.

In the vestry, within the south transept, is the effigy, in alabaster, of sir Thomas Wendesley, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Shrewsbury, in 1403, while fighting on the side of the house of Lancaster. He is arrayed in plate armour, mail gorget, and pointed helmet, with a rich bandeau, on which is inscribed, IHC NAZAREN: his pillow is supported by seated angels.

In the Vernon chapel, are several monuments of the Vernons and Manners' families. In the centre is the cenotaph of sir George Vernon, knt. (who died 1561), and his two wives, enriched with figures in bas relief of ladies holding shields of arms; on it lies the effigy of a knight in plate armour and surcoat, with straight hair and a long beard, having a double chain about his neck.

Quitting Bakewell church, the Association passed to Alport, whence, by the permission of his grace the duke of Rutland, they were allowed to pass by his private and very picturesque road, along the banks of the Lothkill, to Middleton. They then arrived at the residence of Thomas

Bateman, esq., of Yolgrave, and received a most hearty welcome and entertainment from their esteemed associate. To describe Mr. Bateman's

Monument to sir Godfrey and lady Avena Foljambe.

museum of Celtic, Saxon, and Roman antiquities, would require many volumes. It is principally composed of the several articles found in the almost innumerable barrows he has so successfully opened, and which have given rise to various papers in this *Journal*, from its commencement to the present time, and above all to his most excellent work entitled, *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire, and the Sepulchral Usages of its Inhabitants, from the most Remote Ages, to the Reformation*, an account of which is given in vol. iii of the *Journal* of the Association. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this work is indispensable to the antiquary of the county of Derby. Next to the value of the museum and its amazing extent, is the beautiful classification under which the specimens are arranged, and the facility with which every object can be examined and understood. Mr. Bateman has most kindly consented to continue his valuable contributions to this *Journal*, and the reader is referred to his

paper on the Barrows of Derbyshire. (See pp. 210-220 *ante*.) After returning thanks to Mr. Bateman for his hospitality, the Association proceeded to Yolgrave to view the church.

Yolgrave church, consisting of chancel, nave, and aisles, and terminated at the west end with a square tower, presents a good deal of mixture in its architectural features, the most ancient portion being apparently as early as the beginning of the twelfth century, whilst the most modern part was erected in the beginning of the seventeenth. The chancel, which is thirty-seven feet eight inches in length, by twenty-three feet in width, is of the perpendicular style of architecture, and does not call for particular remark, except as containing a few monuments worthy of notice, and a square-headed piscina in the usual position, in the south wall, the drain stone of which is sculptured with the rude representation of a female face, apparently of older work than the sides and label, which are merely square stones with the inner edges chamfered off. The oldest monument is that which at present lies in one of the south windows; a cross-legged effigy of the twelfth century (see plate XXIX, fig. 2), representing a male personage attired in the quilted gambason of that period, and holding in his hands a human heart, as in other examples of the time. This has of course given rise to two stories, one (of which a sir John Rossington is the hero) too absurd to repeat in this *Journal*, the other, more mischievous, because more likely to mislead from its plausibility, namely, that the figure is that of one of the knights who accompanied sir James Douglas to the Holy Land with the heart of Robert Bruce. The members of the Association need hardly be informed, that even if the age of the sculpture authorized the tale, the fashion is one too well known to antiquaries to induce them to entertain it. It has been suggested that effigies holding hearts indicate that the heart only is buried there; but there is no evidence to corroborate it.

In the north wall, is a very curious mural monument of alabaster, containing twenty-two figures, carved in high relief; the principal of which is a female figure wearing a crown, and holding an infant upon one arm; on the right side is the figure of a man, followed by seven other smaller male figures, and on the left side, is a female, followed by nine other figures of the same sex; the whole of the figures on each side of the crowned female, who is standing, being in a kneeling position; from an imperfect inscription remaining on the border of the stone, it appears that the monument was intended to perpetuate the memory of Robert Gilbert and Joan his wife, who died in 1492.

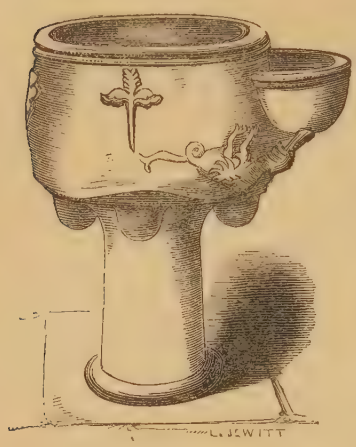
The only remaining monument of any particular interest is near the chancel door; it is a small altar tomb of alabaster, surrounded by angels and winged figures, in ecclesiastical costume, bearing shields of arms which have originally been emblazoned with their proper colours, as have also the wings of the figures. Upon this is the mutilated recumbent

miniature effigy of a knight, in armour of the fifteenth century, who, from the crest surmounting the helmet, beneath his head, appears to have been sir John Cokayne, of Harthill, who died in 1504; he is represented in plate armour, with a gorget and skirt of chain mail, and the elbow pieces fastened by double points or straps; the minutest details of the armour and its decorations are carved with great fidelity and skill, and the whole has been gilt and coloured appropriately. Round the neck is the Yorkist collar of suns and roses, with the white lion of March appendant. The remaining memorials are good specimens of the sculpture of the early and later parts of the seventeenth century, but do not call for a more detailed description. Outside the chancel door is part of an incised cross, which may have been a coffin lid originally,

The chancel arch is early pointed, and from its simple character, and the style of mouldings on the imposts, cannot be later than the close of the twelfth century: and the same date may be assigned to the arches on the north side of the nave, which are of the same form, but spring from capitals ornamented with foliage of the Norman style, and heads of men, and dogs, or wolves. These surmount cylindrical columns, one foot ten inches in diameter, which are composed of courses of walled stone. In the wall, close to the most western pier, is a niche, containing a small sandstone figure of a female in long drapery, holding a staff, or perhaps representing a pilgrim, but too dilapidated to pronounce an opinion upon. Turning to the south side, we find the arches dividing the nave from the aisle to be circular, and to spring from imposts, the levels of which are cut into double and single reeded patterns; the pillars supporting them are larger than on the north side, being near two feet six inches in diameter. Neither these, the north, or the chancel arches present any moulding whatever, a plain chamfer being used instead; there is, however, a plain label projecting from the wall, a little above the arches, which, at the spring, is finished by human faces, now much defaced. The clerestory windows are square-headed, with three circular-headed lights in each; there are six on each side, and they call for no further remark, being rather late. The length of the nave is seventy-four feet, by twenty-three feet three inches wide.

The south side is lighted by three lancet-headed windows, respectively of one, three, and two lights, still containing some slight remains of stained glass; its dimensions are forty-five feet in length, and twelve feet in breadth. The north aisle has been much mutilated, and internally presents no feature of interest, if we except a curiously moulded recess which contains a square window. On the exterior, however, is a circular-headed doorway of considerable antiquity, now walled up. Within this part of the church stands the curious early font (see woodcuts annexed), sculptured in red sandstone, having a smaller stoup cut from the same block on one side, which is held in the mouth of a dragon carved in relief upon the outside of the

larger vessel. The north transept or aisle measures forty-three feet three inches by fourteen feet ten inches. An arch of late period supplies the means of communication between the nave and the tower, which latter is a massive structure, of considerable height, measuring nineteen feet by sixteen feet three inches in width internally, and containing five bells; it was built in the year 1614. It is to be remarked, that all the measurements have reference to the interior dimensions of the church, exclusive of the walls. The roof is open, formed of oak, covered with lead, and, internally, is very fine, particularly in the chancel; there are also many well carved bosses at the intersection of the principal timbers, some of which are heraldic. There are likewise many examples of early pew ends carved in oak planks.



After an inspection of the church, the Association proceeded to Haddon Hall, where they were most courteously received by his grace the duke of Rutland, accompanied by lady William Paulet, lady Palmer, and the marquis de Gallifez. Henry Duesbury, esq., then proceeded to deliver his paper on the architectural peculiarities of this remarkable building, and to illustrate it by appropriate diagrams. (See pp. 283-295 *ante*.) The paper being concluded, the duke of Rutland rose and said: "Sir Oswald Mosley, ladies and gentleman, I rise for the purpose of proposing that the thanks of this company be given to Mr. Duesbury for the very able and interesting paper which he has been pleased to read, tracing as it does so accurately the history of this ancient mansion; and now that I am on my legs, I would beg leave to assure you of the excessive pleasure I experience in having the honour of receiving the Archæological Association within the walls of this ancient and time-honoured mansion. I am sorry that I shall not be able to accompany the members of the Association on their further excursions, for recent indisposition and increase of years have created, if I may so speak, a subtraction of locomotive action. I think there is no man who holds a possession, more proud of that possession than I am of this old Hall. I am particularly proud of

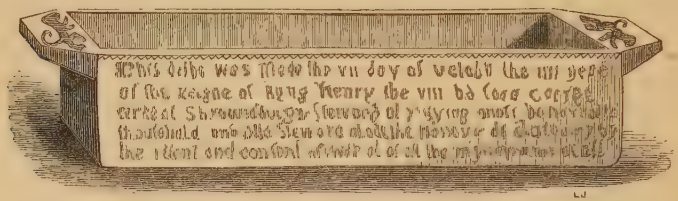
it this day, since it has been thought worthy of a visit from the most learned assembly which I now see before me. I will also take the liberty to add, though it may be considered out of place for me to do so, that I do not think there is a mansion in the kingdom which deserves or invites more attention than Haddon Hall. To the labours of this society all classes of the community are greatly indebted. The theologian cannot explain many passages in the Old Testament until he has learned the manners of the Jews; a man in the profession of the law ought to be learned in the laws of the Greeks and Romans; and the statesman who wishes to illustrate his sayings by allusions and comparisons ought to be well acquainted with ancient history, and the historian ought to be acquainted with the antiquities of the country whose history he is about to write. I know you have a good deal to do, and I will not detain you; I will put into your hands, sir Oswald, a very curious old document which has been in my family for a long period, the nature of which is a permission given by king John, when he was regent of the kingdom, to make some alterations in the outer part of Haddon Hall. When Richard was in the Holy Land, sir Richard Vernon applied for permission to build the outer wall twelve feet higher than it then was. This (placing the document in sir Oswald Mosley's hand) is the permission which John, in the name of the king, gave to him. This, and two other interesting MSS., are, with the kind permission of his grace, printed among the Original Documents of the present *Journal.* (See pp. 296-8 *ante*).

Sir Oswald Mosley, on the part of the Association, returned thanks to the duke of Rutland for his obliging attention and condescension in meeting the society, and took the opportunity of offering a compliment to the good taste of his grace and his family which had led them to preserve the walls of that building in its ancient state. It had been, the president observed, once the intention of the Rutland family to modernize the building, but owing to their love of antiquity, that intention was abandoned.

A minute inspection of Haddon Hall was then made, and the party returned to Derby, where an evening meeting was held in the rooms of the Athenæum. Papers on the Ancient Monastic Institutions of Derbyshire, by J. O. Halliwell, esq. (see pp. 232-239 *ante*);[1] on the Armorial Bearings of the Families of Ferrers and Peverel, by J. R. Planché, esq. (see pp. 220-232 *ante*), and on the Ancient Customs and Sports of the County of Derby, by Llewellynn Jewitt, esq. (see pp. 199-210 *ante*), were read and commented on.

[1] A few inedited monastic charters, forming a supplement to this paper, will be printed in the next number of the *Journal.* They have been postponed on account of the most important (two relating to Calke monastery) containing names of ancient villages which have not yet been identified.

W. Eaton Mousley, esq., availed himself of this opportunity to exhibit the standard dish kept at the Moot Hall, at Wirksworth, and which was brought to the meeting by a deputy bar-master, special custody of it being required. The dish, of which a cut is annexed, is composed of brass, and is of curious workmanship. It is the dish by which all the miners regulated their dishes at every half-yearly court, and it bears the following inscription:



"This Dishe was made the iiij day of October the iiij yeare of the reigne of kyng Henry the VIIIth before George Erle of Shrowesbury Steward of ye kyngs most Honourable Household and also Steward of all the honour of Tutbery by the assent and consent as wele of all the mynours as of all the brenners within and adjoyning the Lordship of Wyrkysworth percel of the said Honour. This Dishe to remayne in the moote hall at Wyrkysworth hangyng by a cheyne so as the merchauntes or mynours may have resorte to ye same at all tymes to make the tru-mesure after the same."

Mr. Mousley also exhibited a leathern jug commonly called the "black jack", which was used by the miners at the same time, and two ancient shovels, with which the lead ore was received from the mine into the dish in a peculiar manner, as well as pieces of iron, used to get ore, according to the plug and feather system. Mr. Mousley also produced a battle-axe, of very ancient date, found at Brassington, of which he (Mr. Mousley) is lord of the manor, and which showed that whether miners or adventurers, they understood the nature of self-protection. He also produced a curious piece of lead, found near to a Roman station, within the Queen's Field, and which showed, that in ancient times, the ore was gotten and placed in particular forms, and when, by means of heath or furze, the same became set on fire, and smelted, it was brought into use without the means of furnaces, as at the present time. Mr. Mousley also exhibited a modern stoce, which is fixed to the ground at the present day as an emblem of possession, and stated, that if the mine was not worked after this spindle had been duly notched by the barmaster, a stranger might come in and take possession of the mine, and that neither the cunning nor the ingenuity of the miner could operate to the prejudice of the rights of the mineral field.

Sir Fortunatus Dwarris made a few remarks upon the interest attached to the objects produced through the kindness of Mr. Mousley, to whom he paid a high compliment, after which the business of the meeting terminated.

WATERS & C° LITH. LONDON.

MONUMENTAL SLAB OF JOHN & MARGARET ROLLESTON.

Thursday, August 21st.

Visits to Rolleston Hall, Tutbury Church and Castle, Norbury Church, and Ashburne Church.

By the kind invitation of the President, the Association quitted Derby by rail to Tutbury, and from thence proceeded by carriages, liberally provided by sir Oswald Mosley, to his seat, Rolleston Hall, where upwards of one hundred partook of a most sumptuous breakfast, after which an inspection was made of the beautiful grounds so tastefully and elegantly disposed by their enlightened owner. Walking through the pleasure grounds, the party came to Rolleston church, which is beautifully situated at the end of the lawn. That there was a church here previously to the conquest may be inferred from the notice taken of it in Domesday Book, wherein it is stated that "a *priest* had fourteen carucates"; and a doorway on the north side of the present church, with another immediately opposite to it on the other side of the nave, may possibly be portions of the old church then standing. The tower and spire are of early decorated architecture, and the south aisle was probably added in the reign of Edward III. On the floor of the aisle is a monumental slab (see plate XXXI) with the effigies thereon of a knight in armour, and his wife by his side, and the following circumscription:—

"Hic jacet Joh'es Rolleston, armiger, filius et heres Alberedi Rolleston, armigeri, et Margareta, uxor ej' una filiaru' Joh'is Agard de Foston, qui quide' Joh'es obiit xxbiij° die mensis Julii, anno d'ni millesimo cccclxxxb° et d'ca Margareta, obiit die me'sis . . . . . a'no d'ni millio ccc°. . . . . Quoru' animabus misericors sit Trinitas s'ca."

At their feet is a shield bearing the arms of Rolleston, namely, *argent*, a cinquefoil, *azure*, on a chief, *gules*, a lion passant guardant, *or*, impaling, *argent*, a chevron, *gules*, between three boars' heads, *sable*, for Agard.

There are also several other monuments of the Rolleston family, and, in the same aisle, one (see plate XXXII) to the memory of sir Edward Mosley, knt., attorney-general of the duchy of Lancaster, built by him in his life-time, as appears by the following funeral certificate of sir Edward Mosley, knt., copied from the original funeral certificates of the north, No. 32, in the Herald's Office.

"S^{r} Edward Moseley, of Roulston, in Com. Stafford, Kn^{te}, and late his Ma^{tyes} Attourney g'rall of the Duchy of Lanc^{re}, youngest sonne of S^{r} Nicholas Moseley, late of the Hough, in Com. Lanc^{r}, Kn^{te}, dep'ted this Life on Sonday, the 1° of July, An°. D'ni (1638) And was worshipfully Interred by his friends and kindred the 26th of July next after in the South Ile of the Parrishe Church of Roulston, in Com. Stafford, p'dict, where hee lyved (Close by a fayre Monum^{te} builte by himselfe of Alabaster & touch as a ppetuall Memory, for himselfe & the Posterity hereafter succeedinge.

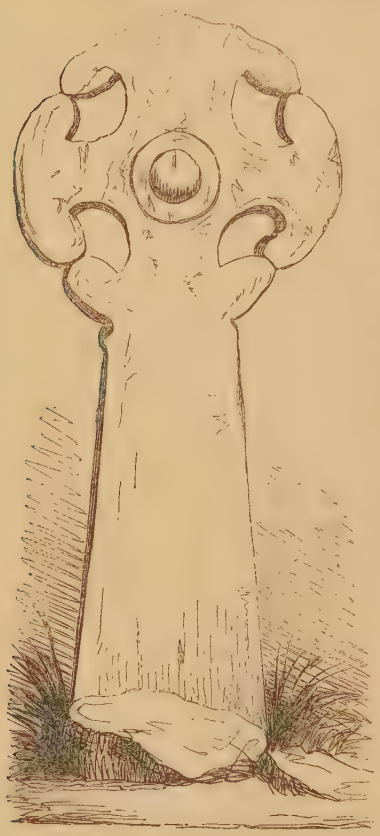
Sacrum Memoriæ Edⁱ Mosley. Milit. Cælib. Attornat. General. Ducat. Lancast. et hujus
Ecclesiæ Patroni, Filii Nicholai Mosley. Milit. Familiæ Lancast.
Obiit 1° Julii A. D. 1638.

Hee bequeathed all his lands to Edward Moseley of the Hough aforesaid, in the said County, esq^r. his Nephewe, whome hee made his heyre, sonne of Rowland Moseley, late of the Hough, esq^r. whoe was sonne & heyre to the said S^r Nicholas Moseley, Kn^te, sometymes Lord Mayor of the Citty of London, and Highe Sherriffe of the County Pallantyne of Lanc^e, Chiefe Lord of the Mannor of Manch'r, Lord of Withington, and other Append'ts there. The said S^r Edward Moseley, Kn^te, died Bachelor, being seaventy yeares of Age or thereab^ts. EDWARD MOSLEY."

On the top of this monument are the arms of Mosley, namely, *sable*, three mattocks, or, as they are called in the Heralds office, battle-axes *argent*, crest, an eagle displayed, *ermine*. Here is also the family vault of the Mosleys, with several mural slabs erected to their memory. But one of the most remarkable monuments is in the chancel of this church, on the left hand side of the communion rails. (See pl. XXXIII.) It consists of the recumbent figure of a priest dressed in a rich vestment, curiously embroidered ; the upper and lower parts of the body alone are exhibited, the centre being concealed by a square stone, upon which a chalice and some floral ornaments are represented, above a tablet, upon which there is no inscription. This figure and tablet are cut out of blocks of very pure alabaster, but there is no indication for whom the monument was erected. In the absence of all certain information, an opinion has been hazarded, that this is a cenotaph erected by Robert Sherbourn, who founded a free grammar school in this village, and in all probability erected this monument in his lifetime, with the intention of being buried here; but as he afterwards became bishop of Chichester, and was buried in the cathedral there, the tablet on this tomb remained uninscribed. There are in Lichfield cathedral similar representations of recumbent figures, with square portions of wall dividing their upper from their lower extremities.

By the kindness of the president, the Association is here presented with a cut of a very interesting seal. It is that of the churchwardens of Rolleston, in the county of Stafford, given by Robert Sherborn, or Sherebourne, bishop of Chichester, who was born in that parish, where

he founded a grammar school, about the year of our Lord 1520, and endowed it with an annual stipend of £10, to be paid by the dean and chapter of Chichester, for the use of the schoolmaster. The founder directed that an impression of this seal should be attached to the receipt for the stipend, and delivered by the churchwardens to the dean and chapter of Chichester, as a voucher for the same.



In the pleasure ground adjoining the churchyard is a very early cross, of which an engraving is here given, from a drawing accurately made by Miss Letitia Mosley; it was brought from the churchyard of the adjoining parish of Tatenhill, where, for many years, the shaft of the cross had been used as a step, and the upper part of it had been imbedded in a wall. Of its great antiquity there can be no question; but as to the precise period of its formation it would be difficult to speak with confidence.

The party now proceeded to visit Tutbury church, where excavations had been made, and are still being carried on, to ascertain some points of interest. Charles Baily, esq., exhibited a plan of the church, and delivered a discourse upon its structure, which, together with an account of the excavations, will appear in the next number of the *Journal*.

The Association now proceeded to view the remains of Tutbury castle, and were exceedingly fortunate to have so excellent a guide on the occasion as their president, the historian of Tutbury. Sir Oswald descanted with great perspicuity upon this ruin, so interesting as relating to history, antiquities, and architecture.

Upon approaching the castle of Tutbury by the present footpath, we enter a portion of the building which was either repaired by queen Elizabeth for the reception of the Scot's queen, or by James I, who frequently visited this castle on his hunting excursions. A part to the left has been converted into a modern residence; but on the right hand, after you enter the area of the castle, stand the ruins of those rooms which were formerly occupied by the unfortunate Mary, and which

appear to have been erected by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; the size of these apartments is capacious, the largest being thirty-nine feet long, and twenty-four wide; the smallest twenty-five feet long, and nineteen wide; they communicated with each other by means of a doorway and short passage; their height can only be guessed at, on account of the ruined state of the wall above; but it appears to have been sixteen or seventeen feet. There are vaults under each, of the same dimensions as those of the rooms above. A row of low buildings extended from thence into the castle yard, which are said to have contained the queen's bedchambers and different offices connected with her establishment. The ruined tower to the north-east contained four suites of apartments, one above the other, the lowest occupied by her secretary, Curl, and the rest by her medical attendant and chief cook. This tower was originally built with the intention of guarding the pass from the river Dove to the castle, which was formerly one of the principal approaches. The gateway seems to be the most ancient part of the castle now standing; it is built of a red sandstone, and large pieces of gypsum have been used in the inner walls. Two massive stone projections have been added at a more recent period to the front of this gateway, apparently for the purpose of mounting guns thereon. An artificial building now occupies the highest point of the hill, where formerly, no doubt, the keep stood, and nearly in the centre of the yard a deep well of water still exists, from which the garrison was amply supplied. Although queen Mary was strictly guarded during her residence at Tutbury, under the mild government of the amiable sir Ralph Sadler she was permitted to enjoy the usual pastimes of the age. She frequently went hawking in the valley of the Dove, and the luxuries of her table were not neglected. We find from his letters which are still extant, that she was allowed a tun of wine a month, besides *wine for the purpose of bathing in.* This singular use of wine, sir Oswald remarked, might perhaps throw some light upon the mysterious death of the duke of Clarence, who was said to have been drowned in *a butt of Malmsey.*

Mary was not the only queen who has resided within the walls of Tutbury. Constance of Castile, the second wife of John of Gaunt, here fixed her royal residence; and to reconcile her to a long absence from her native country, a court of minstrels and a bull running were established by her faithless husband. A little park was also formed under the castle, which was stocked with deer from the adjoining forest, and we have still two closes on the castle hill known by the names of the queen's garden and vineyard. This was by far the most prosperous period in the annals of Tutbury; the town was enlarged beyond its ancient dimensions, the voice of melody was heard in the streets, whilst the resort of strangers to the castle, and the liberality of the duke of Lancaster produced scenes of bustle and gaiety never known there before nor since. After the death of his queen, John

of Gaunt never again visited this place, and the castle very soon became a scene of desolation and neglect. It was garrisoned by lord Loughborough for the king during the civil wars, whilst the house of Barton Blount, about three miles distant, was occupied by the parliament army. On the twentieth of April, 1646, the garrison surrendered to sir William Brereton upon honourable terms, and, by an order of parliament in July 1647, the castle of Tutbury was "rendered untenable". Crowds of the neighbouring peasantry were sent there with pickaxes, mattocks, and bars of iron, and soon reduced this majestic pile to the ruined state in which it now remains.

From Tutbury castle the Association proceeded to Norbury, and were received and entertained by the rev. J. Clement Broughton, rector of Norbury, and by him conducted to the church, upon which he obligingly communicated the following paper:—

"The church of Norbury, from its architecture and beautiful stained glass, is one of the most remarkable in the county. From the various styles which it comprehends, it has evidently been erected at different periods. The greater part, consisting of the nave, the walls, the windows of the chancel, with curvilinear tracery, and the tower, are of the fourteenth century. The two chapels and entire roof, and the battlements of the south side of the chancel, which are differently formed from the usual battlements, fig. 1, are fashioned in the shape of the heraldic bearing of vaire, fig. 2, evidently copied from the coat of arms of the Fitzherbert family. *Argent*, a bend, *sable*, over a chief vaire, and were added by Nicholas Fitzherbert, who died November 19th 1473, on whose beautiful monument of alabaster, still in fine preservation, there existed the following epitaph, transcribed from Le Neve's *Monumental Inscriptions*:—

1

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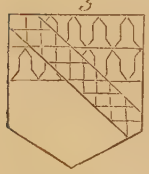


'An. cccc seventy and three
Years of our Lord passed in degree
The body that bury'd is under this stone
Of Nichol Fitzherbert, Lord and Patrone
Of Norbury, with Alis the daughter of Henry Bothe
Eight sonnes and five daughters he had in sothe
Two sonnes and two daughters by Isabel his wife
So seventeen children he had in his lyfe
This church he made at his own expense
In the joy of heaven be his recompence
And in moone of November the nineteenth daye
He bequeathed his soul to everlasting joy.'

"The statement, that 'he made this church at his own expense', can only apply to his addition of the two chapels and the roof, which is of

the flat form, prevalent in the fifteenth century, and was substituted for a previous roof, of a much more acute pitch, which is manifest from the oak beams of the actual roof resting upon, and partly concealing, the apex of the great east window, which point, no doubt, was many feet below the original high-pitched roof. The initials, N. F., which appear on a great number of the lozenge panes of stained glass, clearly prove that the alterations and repairs of the church were made at the cost of Nicholas Fitzherbert. The chancel extends forty-eight feet in length from the oak screen separating it from the nave, and twenty in width, and is lighted by nine large pointed windows, four on each side of three bays, of curvilinear tracery, divided from each other by only the breadth of the buttresses which support the walls. The brilliant glass with which these windows are filled, is disposed in various beautiful devices, representing circles, frets, flowers, lozenges, and coats of arms of noble individuals, probably contributors to the erection of the church. The great east window, occupying the whole width of the chancel, is divided by four mullions into five bays, the centre one wider than the others, and terminates in acute arches, without cusps. This window was utterly destroyed, and the space filled up with brick and plaster in a most unseemly manner; but when the church was restored A.D. 1842, the window was again opened and filled with stained glass, taken from different parts of the church, and the deficiency made up with new. Amongst this old glass is a very curious representation of the holy Trinity, the figures of the twelve apostles with scrolls above their heads, in which the apostles' creed in latin characters is written. This old glass was much mutilated, only ten heads of the apostles, and scarcely any of the drapery having been left.

"Among the armorial devices that appear in the windows, are those of Fitzherbert; Burgh, earl of Ulster; Warren, earl of Surrey: Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster; the constable of Chester; Kevelioc, earl of Chester; Clare, earl of Gloucester; Mandeville, Poyning's Acton, Audley, Bruce, St. Philibert, Heyford, Chevant, Mowbray, Rassingbourn, Morville, Montgomery, Corbet, Somery, England, and others unknown. Part of the old stained glass is in lozenge panes, ornamented with a golden star, 'rose en soleil', the cognizance of Edward IV.

"The oldest of the monuments is a rudely chiselled effigy in stone, the monument of sir Henry Fitzherbert, sixth lord of Norbury. The figure is a recumbent one, habited in chain mail, which envelopes nearly the whole body, and over it is thrown a surcoat; the right hand grasping a sword hilt, and the left bearing a shield. The head rests on a cushion, and the feet are supported by a lion. Sir Henry Fitzherbert was knight of the shire of Derby in 1298 and 1307. The date of his death is not known.

"Lysons, in his *Magna Britannia*, states, that in the chancel of Norbury church is the figure of a Crusader drawing a sword. This is a mistake.

Sir Henry Fitzherbert was not a crusader. There are two fine altar tombs in the chancel. That on the south side of Nicholas Fitzherbert. The effigy, a recumbent one, wears plate armour; the head rests on a helmet, and the vizor is punctured with round holes; lamberquin on a wreath; the crest, a clenched left hand within a gauntlet; chain gorget and reins; the belts ornamented with rosettes, from which are suspended the sword and dagger, very perfect. A chain of jewels, stars, and roses, round the neck, to which is suspended the figure of a dog. The feet rest upon a lion. On one side of the tomb, beneath eight arched compartments, are the figures of eight monks in high relief,—the first bearing on his dress several Maltese crosses. On the opposite side are similar small figures, the first representing a man in armour, an exact counterpart of the effigy on the tomb. The west end exhibits two figures of nuns bearing shields.

"On the north side of the chancel, is the monument of Ralph Fitzherbert, son of Nicholas, with his lady. The cumbent male figures exactly resemble that of Nicholas, excepting a little difference in chain armour about the neck; the crest also is a right hand, and he has no dagger. The left foot rests on the figure of a monk, seated on the back of a dog or lion. The chain round the neck is composed of roses and stars alternately (the cognizance of Edward IV), to which is suspended a figure resembling a boar. The lady wears a close bodice and gown, which have been painted green, and a robe painted red. The cap is reticulated and gilt; the head-dress high and double peaked. Encircling her neck is a chain, and jewel attached, representing the Virgin and Child. A row of beads is suspended from her girdle, and two little dogs at her feet bear her train in their mouths; figures of angels support the cushion on which her head rests. Effigies of females and angels bearing shields occupy the canopied sides of the tomb. Both these monuments are of alabaster, and show traces of rich gilding and painting. The inscription belonging to the latter is preserved in Le Neve's Collection.

"Between these two monuments is a very large floor stone of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, knight, the judge, and of Matilda Cotton, his second wife. The inlaid brass figure of sir Anthony has been removed; that of his lady, except the hand, remains. Her tabard exhibits the armorial bearings of Fitzherbert, Cotton, Ridware, etc. The inscription is preserved in Le Neve's Collection. Sir Anthony was born at Norbury in 1470, was called to the bar in 1511, and knighted in 1516. He was afterwards made one of the justices of Common Pleas. He died May 27th, 1538. He was the author of several valuable works, copies of which are in the rectory library. There are several other curious monuments, chiefly floor stones, in Norbury church. The church was in a most disgracefully dilapidated state, till it was restored to its present

condition in 1842. It is the first church in the diocese into which were introduced all open sittings.

"The living of Norbury cum Snelston is a rectory, the annual value of which is £15 : 16 : 0½ in the king's books. It is endowed with the great and small tithes, and upwards of a hundred acres of land. The rev. Clement F. Broughton is the patron and incumbent."

Ashburne church formed the last object of attention in this day's excursion.

The parish church of Ashburne stands at the western extremity of the town, in a spacious ground which slopes from north to south. The form of the church is that of a Greek cross; and it consists of chancel, double transepts, north and south, and a double nave, being surmounted at the intersection by a bold square tower, from which rises, to a height of two hundred and ten feet, an extremely elegant octagonal spire, which is rendered remarkably light and graceful by being pierced with twenty windows; it is ribbed at each angle by strings of the ball-flower ornament. This spire from its exquisite proportions has always and justly been called "The Pride of the Peak". From out of the four squinches supporting the spire rise pinnacles which are partly engaged with good effect, while the narrow ambulatory round the base is protected by an open trefoiled parapet which forms the cornice of the tower. Up to this ambulatory you ascend by a staircase formed in the south-east corner of the tower,[1] and the elegant crocketed turret on that side indicates its position. As the eye descends, and rests upon the body of the building, one becomes conscious of an incongruity and want of harmony, which have been caused by various alterations in more modern times. The loss of the lofty roofs of each portion of the venerable edifice becomes immediately apparent, and produces an effect of dilapidation and incompleteness, which is rendered still more marked by the projection of the old weather lines, which are to be traced on each face of the tower; and where these roofs were made nearly flat, the walls were raised several feet on all sides, and they now display ranges of debased and most unsightly windows. We were especially pained at those in the north transept, which entirely destroy the effect of the exquisitely beautiful early English triplets below them. These destructive and unsightly alterations appear to have been effected about the latter end of Elizabeth or early in the time of James I. In walking towards the east end we at once discovered that the present large window is a substitution for a triple lancet, which was doubtless surmounted by a small circular light. The chancel, with its beautiful lancets of twenty feet in height, rises from a marvellously bold blocking-course,—all its buttresses being original and singularly good. An early English doorway on the south,

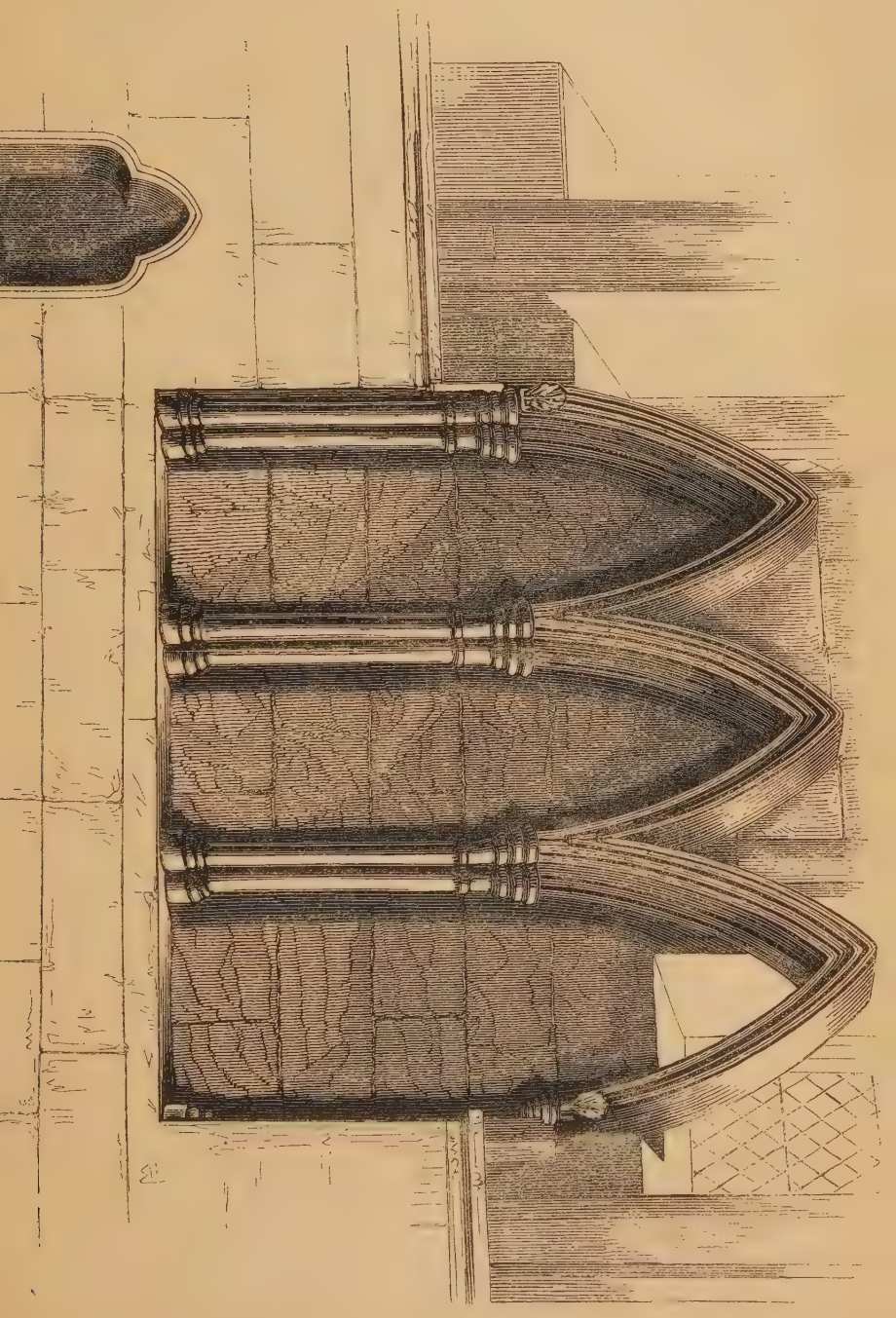
[1] The entrance to the stairs is in the south-east pier by an original and highly curious door of a solid block of oak.

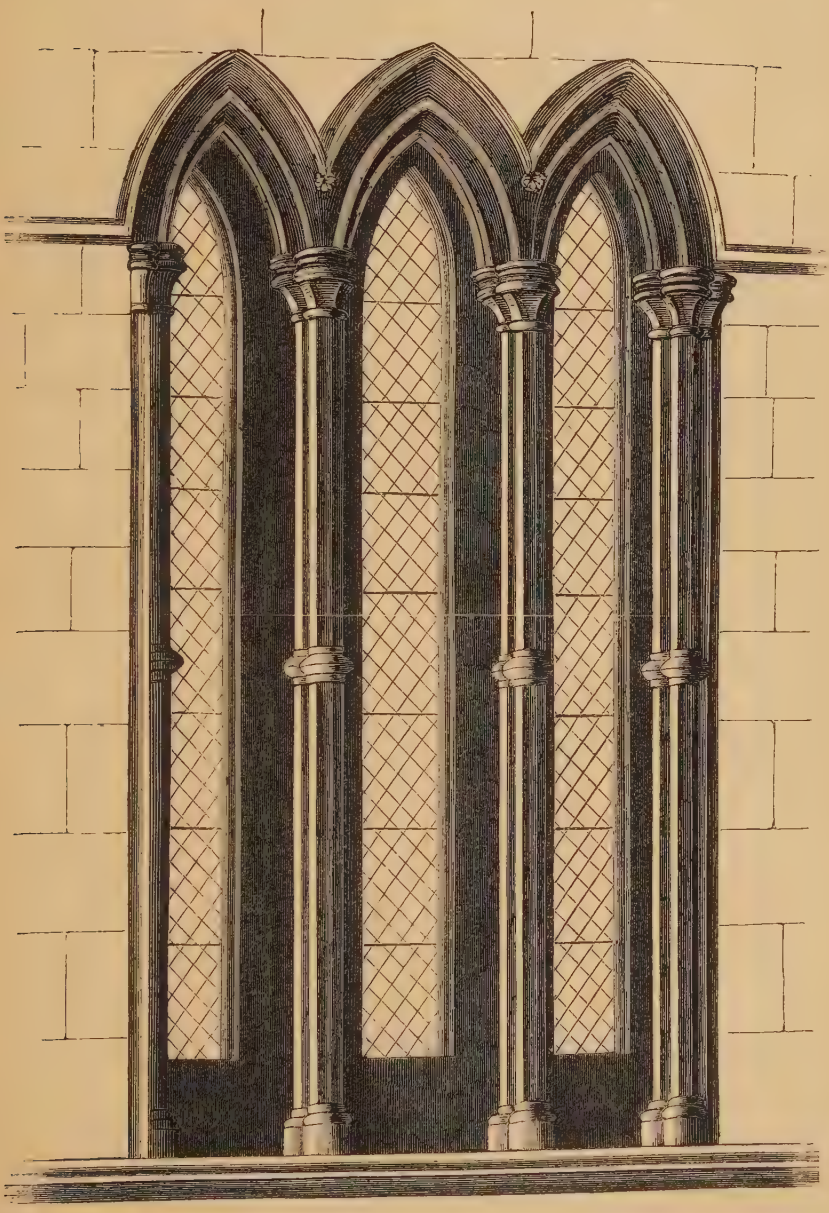
with six angular shafts on either side supporting beautifully arched and receding mouldings, leads into the chancel, which throughout indicates a date not later than the early part of the thirteenth century. Two eccentric chimneys were stuck upon the buttresses on this side of the building about twelve years ago, when the alterations took place. The south transept presents another early English doorway, and the four early decorated windows which light the south nave are very graceful and pleasing. At the west end was formerly a large door of entrance of the decorated style: this in 1840 was removed, the entrance blocked up, and the west window, of late Tudor character, was frightfully elongated, and gives a most distressing appearance to the western exterior. The buttresses on the north side have angular cappings, and on each side of the windows are niches of early decorated stamp. The north transept doorway is modern.

Interior.—The south transept door forms the principal entrance, and not far from it to the right stands the fine old font of early English date. The full size, height, and dimensions of the edifice, become apparent in passing on to the great piers which support the tower. The extreme length of the church, including the walls, is one hundred and eighty feet; the chancel is comprehended in this, and is sixty-five feet by twenty-five feet. The transepts, which are double, piers and arches dividing them, are eighty-five feet by forty feet; the height of the main nave is fifty feet.

On the south-east pier is a brass plate bearing the following inscription in Lombardic characters, of the date of the consecration of the church in 1241; and from this it seems that it was dedicated to St. Oswald:—"*Anno ab incarnacione Domini* M°CC°XLI°, VIII° *kl. Maii dedicata est hec ecclesia et hoc altare consecratum in honore sancti Oswaldi regis et martiris a venerabili patre domino Hugone de Patishul Coventrensi episcopo.*" Some doubts have been entertained as to the genuineness of this inscription. It is clear from the register, that in 1702 the plate was affixed to the south-west pier, and was considered then genuine. The chancel certainly wears the full semblance of that, or even of an earlier date. Many of its ancient beauties still remain; though the great east perpendicular window and the depressed roof tend to mar the effect which would otherwise be produced by the chaste, simple, and severe style of the architecture; the decorated windows, north and south, at the spring of the chancel, are substitutions for double lancets. On the south, near the altar steps, which are modern, is the ancient piscina, to the west of which is an arcade built in the wall. (See Plate XXXIV.) It is clearly in its original site, and contemporaneous with the windows, etc. Nearly four feet below it, is a label moulding exactly corresponding with the width of the arcade. One can hardly imagine that it could have been used as sedilia, because of its height from the ground

PLATE XXXIV.—ASHBURNE CHURCH.





ASHBURNE CHURCH.

(four feet), and of the narrowness of seat afforded by the wall (being only thirteen inches). It would seem not improbable that images might have been placed in it. Nearly opposite is an Easter sepulchre of decorated work, in which Robert de Kniveton is supposed to have been buried; some of that family were early benefactors to the church. The chancel has recently been repaved with tiles in mosaic form, and has also been fitted up with substantial stalls and sittings; the new wooden screen is low, and exhibits a panelled arcade of early English character. It is intended shortly to raise a bold and appropriate roof to the original lofty pitch, and to substitute a triple lancet and a circular light for the present dilapidated and unsuitable perpendicular window. On quitting the chancel to the north and south is on either side a noble early English arch with grand mouldings leading into the transepts. Half of the north transept is occupied by a monumental chapel, formerly the Lady chapel, where was an image of St. Modwin, which stood upon the bracket of early English date (a cut of which is annexed). It is most curious, the face and frontlet being of Egyptic character. This chapel is lighted by two triplet windows of exquisitely beautiful proportions (see plate xxxv); the front shaft of each band is channelled or fluted, which we believe is not common; the centre light is broader than that on either side. The tombs of the Cockayne family, many of whom are buried here, are very ancient and highly interesting.[1]

Some of the Boothby family in modern days have been here interred; and there is a very beautifully executed and well-known monument of Penelope, daughter of sir Brooke Boothby, by — Banks, R.A. A most striking view of the bold architecture of the church and intersection of its various arches is obtained from the centre of this chapel. A fine geometrical window of five lights stands over the north transept doorway; but it is evident, that originally the transepts as well as the chancel were lighted by lancets.

In the south transept is a remarkably fine early perpendicular window

[1] A paper on this subject was obligingly communicated by Wm. T. Maunsell, esq., a member of the Association; and another in illustration, by Edward Pretty, esq. These have been referred to J. R. Planché, esq., for arrangement and further inquiries, and will appear, with illustrations, in the next number of the Journal.

of seven lights, which probably was placed here by the Bradburne family, who were buried in this transept, and founded a chantry in it in honour of St. Oswald. We were sorry to see this window, as well as its neighbour of the decorated period, so much out of repair. An altar tomb of one of them stands near the font; though much and disgracefully mutilated, it is finely executed in alabaster, and represents a young knight in plate armour of the time of Edward IV; the head is bare, and rests on a pillow; the hair straight in front, and long behind; the hands clasped in prayer; the body and limbs are elegantly proportioned. On his right is a lady of youthful form and figure; the drapery falls well in folds to the feet; suspended round her neck is a string or necklace of scallop shells; encircling the head is a bandeau of flowers; a close net confines the hair, which falls in full and long tresses down the neck and shoulders. The graceful simplicity of these figures strongly and most favourably contrasts with the more costly but cumbrous and ill-designed effigies on the tomb of sir Humphrey Bradburne, of one hundred and thirty years later date. Near to this, and projecting from the wall of the transept, is the vestry, which is constructed of wood, and has the appearance of an enormous box with a door cut into it. Upon this is loftily perched the organ, the greater proportion of whose tones to be enjoyed can only be heard fully among the rafters and supports of the roof. We pitied the organist and singers; and passing on through the great arches of the tower, found ourselves in the western portion of the edifice. This consists of two naves of the same length, and of nearly the same width, divided by a very noble arcade of five arches, of late pointed; the piers and foliaged capitals are fine, and the springers between the arches beautiful; the stone is particularly good, both here and elsewhere in the church, and its mottled variety gives a warmth and cheerfulness, which is very pleasing to the eye. It must have been apparently about the middle of the sixteenth century that the walls of the northern nave were raised considerably and battlemented, while a range of debased windows was inserted on both sides, and the roof was made nearly flat. The southern nave also was deprived of its lofty roof, but its walls were not raised; and this gives it now the appearance of a south aisle.

We must not trust ourselves to describe the alterations and improvements which took place in the church in 1840. The pews, as pews, are not objectionable, except the two opposite the reading desk, which have the effect of throwing the whole area out of line. The pulpit is frightful and ill placed; the clumsy staircases are rendered doubly conspicuous by their colossal props; and the ponderous projecting galleries sweeping round the entire edifice cut every window in two. A real barbarism has been committed in the western gallery, which has been brought out so far as to intersect entirely the westernmost pier and a portion of the arch. The conventicle look of this gallery has been heightened by the

insertion of a clock-dial in its front board. It was painful to contemplate this part of the building any longer, and we quitted this fine old church with a sigh.

The following wood-cut represents the seal of the Grammar School at Ashburne, as at present used; and it is not a little singular that the matrix of the original one, which by some accident or other had been lost, appeared in the local museum at Derby, having been sent thither from the north of England. The seal is remarkable, and of considerable interest; it varies from the other in a very slight degree, and only in some trifling parts of its ornamentation. The new seal has evidently been made from an impression of the former one.

Having returned to Derby, an evening meeting was held, the President in the chair, when Mr. Pettigrew, in the absence of Mr. Bateman, read his paper on the Barrows (see pp. 210-220 *ante*); and also a paper by himself, relating to the Discovery of the Ancient City of Tharros (see pp. 239-258 *ante*).

James Heywood, esq., M.P., read the following account of the royal commission of 1689, appointed to prepare alterations of the Book of Common Prayer:

"At the commencement of the reformation, in the reigns of Henry VIII

and Edward VI, parliamentary commissions were appointed, containing an equal number of divines and laymen, to alter the canon and ecclesiastical laws. The accession of William and Mary to the throne of England, in 1688, was, on religious grounds, a remarkable crisis, and in 1689, the appointment of a new commission to review the liturgy and canons, formed the subject of important debates in both houses of parliament: a bill of union was at that time introduced into the house of lords, containing provisions for this appointment, and a clause was proposed to add some laymen to the commission, but the number of votes on this clause were equal, including the proxies, on each side, and the intended addition of laymen was consequently negatived, in accordance with the forms of the house. When the bill arrived in the commons, they requested the king to summon a convocation, and to present the subject before that assembly. Dr. Tillotson, who was chaplain to the king, advised his sovereign to appoint a clerical commission to revise the Book of Common Prayer, previous to the meeting of the convocation. This advice was followed; and the archbishop of York and nine bishops who had acknowledged the royal authority, together with twenty other divines, were nominated as commissioners to prepare alterations in the liturgy.

"On the 10th October, 1689, the commissioners began their sittings, and were very shortly deserted by four of their colleagues. The remainder, still a numerous body, then assiduously devoted themselves to the work before them. New collects were drawn up by Dr. Patrick, and revised by Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Stillingfleet, and Dr. Tillotson. A new version of the Psalms was made by Dr. Kidder, who was well acquainted with oriental languages; and Dr. Tenison proposed new passages in place of many clauses in the liturgy which had been excepted against. Several points were reserved for the judgment of the convocation, as, for instance, the use or omission of the cross in baptism, the conditional ordination of non-conformist ministers desirous of joining the church of England, and the adoption of the amended version of the Psalms.

"The commissioners agreed to recommend that the chaunting of the service in cathedrals should be discontinued, with the view to render the liturgy intelligible to the common people; that proper and devout psalms be selected to be specially read on Sundays, and that the lessons from the Apocrypha should be omitted; that the sacrament might be administered in the pews to such persons as objected to receive it kneeling; that the word "priest" be changed into "minister"; and that the absolution might be read by a deacon. They consented to allow of the omission of godfathers and godmothers in the ceremony of baptism, and, after mature consideration, they proposed a rubric to precede the Athanasian creed, in which the damnatory clauses were explained to relate merely to those

persons who denied the substance of the Christian faith. Alterations were also made in the Litany and Communion service, which were not communicated to any contemporary writer, and were consequently not published.

"Convocation, when they met, did not seem inclined to consider any of the recommendations of the royal commissioners, and the original copy of the alterations remained afterwards in the hands of Dr. Gibson, the secretary of the commission and subsequently bishop of London. No provision had been made for supplying a copy of the intended changes to any lay body, not even to the privy council, and indeed archbishop Tenison was desirous that the original copy should be kept secret, from an apprehension that the proposed alterations would not satisfy either party.

"In 1727, Dr. Waterland was however allowed by bishop Gibson to have a copy of the rubric belonging to the Athanasian creed, and, at a later period, the leading members of the Protestant episcopalian church in the United States were made acquainted with the suggested alterations, which probably assisted them in the new edition of their liturgy, now universally adopted in that portion of the American churches.

"The original copy of the alterations of 1689 is preserved, at the present day, in the library of the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, and it may perhaps be deemed of sufficient importance to justify an appeal to her majesty, to authorize the publication of the proposed changes, which at that period received so much consideration from an authorized body of royal commissioners."

S. T. Reed, esq., of Derby, gave descriptions and explanations of numerous brasses which were hung around the room, in the course of which he observed, that "the principal interest attaching to these memorials is the illustration they afford us of costume during the three most interesting centuries of its existence. And that in this respect brasses possess higher interest than the sculptured effigies of the same periods; for although of lower rank as works of art, and representing also but one side of the figure, yet, as they admitted of every gradation of size and expense, they were employed as the memorials of all ranks in society, and, therefore, present to us a corresponding variety of costume. Another point of advantage they had, was, that being, with few exceptions, laid upon the floor, they occupied less space than sculptured effigies, offered no obstruction, and, at the same time, ornamented the chambers in which they were placed.

"The metal employed in their construction was called Latten, or Cullen (a contraction of Rolu or Cologne), a compound resembling brass. The brass plate was manufactured to the greatest extent in Flanders and Germany. Hence (probably from their vicinity to those countries), the

counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Middlesex, and Essex, are most abundant in these monuments.

"It is most probable that nearly all the brasses in England were engraved by native artists, as the foreign brasses were engraved on a quadrangular sheet of metal, in the centre of which was the figure, surrounded by an inscription, the back ground being filled up with rich diaper foliage or scroll-work, in contradistinction to the English brasses, which had no back ground of brass round the figure, its place being occupied by the stone in which it was laid.

"The earliest specimen we now possess of a monumental brass is that of sir John De Aubernon, dated 1277, 5th Edward I.

"The ladies of the time of Edward II were generally represented with a coverchief falling over the shoulders, chin, and throat, enveloped in a wimple, just disclosing the plaited hair, and two kirtles, the one being sleeveless and of more ample proportions than the other. In the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, 1354 and 1409, are knights of the camul period of armour, in which the basinets were more pointed, and extended nearly to the chin. The bodies were now cased in plate armour, excepting a mail covering for the neck and shoulders, and gussets of mail at the armpits, elbows, and insteps. The ladies wore the reticulated head-dress, and often round the forehead a jewelled border, together with long kirtles as before. During the Lancastrian period, the mailed armour was gradually superseded by a complete plate armour, with taces, or overlapping plates from the waist to the thighs.

"During part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we have frequent instances of knights wearing a skirt extending down to the thighs, termed a tabard. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, the character of armour much degenerated. The taces were more contracted, elbow pieces of extravagant size were worn, and the pauldrons or shoulder plates were serrated at the shoulder, and the helmets greatly changed in character and form.

"With the ladies of this period, about the year 1470, the wired, or butterfly head-dress was much in fashion, in which the hair was strained into a richly ornamented cap at the back of the head, over which fell a veil of fine material, the whole fabric being supported by wires. One of the finest of the class of civilians is that of Alan Fleming, at Newark, which we recognize at once as of Flemish workmanship, from the peculiarities before noticed. Among the civilians are one or two figures representing a judge in his official robes, with coif, hood, and cape.

"The inscriptions round monumental brasses indicated the name and title of the deceased, with a brief pious ejaculation or sentiment, such as 'Orate pro anima', or 'Animabus propicietur Deus'. In those at the foot of the figures, every form of punning and playing upon the sound

of words was often adopted—upon the name of the person particularly. Thus, the inscription on a brass at Little Bradley, begins,—

'Here lies the day that darkness could not blind,
Ere popish fogges had overcast the sun,
This daye the cruel night did leave behind,
To view and show what bloody acts were done,' &c., &c.

"The custom at last amounted to absolute profaneness. An inscription on Anthony Cooke, of Yoxford, who died on Easter Monday, runs thus:—

'At the due sacrifice of the paschall lambe,
April had eight days wepte in showers; then came
Lean, hungry death, who never pitty tooke,
And 'cause the feast was ended, slewe this Cooke.
On Ester Monday he lyves then no daye more,
But sunk to rise with him that rose before;
He's here intombed; a man of virtues line,
Out streched his years, yet they were seventy-nine.
He left on earth ten children of eleven
To keep his name, while himself went to Heaven.'

"Numerous brasses were arranged in the form of a cross, some of which consisted of a tall slight stem, based upon steps, with clustered foliage at the sides, and with the name and title at the foot. In the centre of other crosses were the figures or demi-figures of the deceased. In another, the man and wife knelt at each side of the cross, as at Hildersham.

"The finest existing specimen of ecclesiastical brasses is that of De la Mere, thirty-sixth abbot of St. Alban's, in full pontificals, of costly richness. The hands are crossed, and hanging downwards in all humility, and covered with jewelled gloves. On his left arm rests a pastoral staff, with an 'Agnus Dei' in its head. He wears richly embroidered sandals, and on his head the mitra preciosa. It was a rule of the church to bury ecclesiastics in the full dress, and with all the decorations of their order; hence we have in their effigies a faithful record of their costume.

"A brass of great beauty is that of Lawrence Seymour, rector of Higham Ferrers, vested in the chasuble, and under an embattled canopy. Ecclesiastics are also sometimes represented with a chalice. In others, vested in cope and cloak, fastened across the chest with a morse or brooch. Behind, a hood was attached, which, after the fourteenth century, was superseded by the amice. The cope was the most richly ornamented of all the sacerdotal vestments, its orphreys being sometimes enriched with jewels, and sometimes with figures of saints. Occasionally the initials of the deceased are represented in the border.

"Of brasses in canonical or academical habit, the costumes are too much varied to describe.

"Another kind of brasses is interesting, though somewhat ghastly, including skeletons, and shrouded figures; these were frequently engraved before a person's death, to supply food for his meditation, and a memento of his mortality. Sometimes the deceased was represented as a skeleton, or in a shroud, and the survivors in their proper costume, as in the brass of Thomasina Tendrying and her children."

The meeting then adjourned.

Friday, August 22nd.

The excursions for this day were confined to Melbourne and Repton.

On arriving at Melbourne, the Association were received by the rev. Joseph Deans, the vicar, by whom they were conducted to the church, of which a very interesting examination was made. Withdrawing to the rooms of the school house, the reverend gentleman read the following paper:

"Upon an occasion like the present, when, although anxious to direct your attention to such points in the ancient building which you have this day come to visit as may seem more particularly worthy of your notice, I feel that in addressing those who are far better able than myself to judge of antiquities, and to draw conclusions from the character and style which are visible in the subject I wish to elucidate, it is more than probable that I may be arguing from insufficient data, and that your better knowledge may lead you to conclusions different from those which I shall venture to express. It is natural that I should approach this subject with no little hesitation. But since there are no existing records from which we may trace an authentic history of this church, I trust you will bear with me while I lay before you those crude conceptions, and, perhaps, I might call them waking dreams, in which, with much pleasure to myself, I have from time to time indulged my fancy during an acquaintance of more than twenty years with the subject on which I purpose to address you.

"In the first place then, I venture to suppose that the town itself derives its name from a circumstance connected with the establishment of Christian worship in it; and *that* in purely Saxon times. This part of the kingdom of Mercia was, as early as the seventh century, well inhabited: for when Peada received from his father-in-law the government of the provinces south of the Trent, they contained five thousand families; and the names of many of the neighbouring villages are so manifestly Saxon as not to admit of a doubt with respect to their existence at that early period. I pass by *Repton*, which, as the residence of the princes of Mercia is acknowledged to be a Saxon town; but I would request you to observe that Breedon is evidently derived from a Saxon word which means the *broad hill;* Donington, *the hilly town;* Stanton, the *stony town;* Ticknall, the *goat's corner* or *habitation*. These im-

mediately surrounding places being so evidently called by Saxon names, led me to examine also the etymology of Melbourne, with a view of ascertaining whether that name also might not throw some light upon the history of the town. The result of the inquiry fully justified my expectations; for I found what I consider to be a complete confirmation of the tradition which points to a particular event as the source from which our church originated. MŒL-BURN means the cross brook: *mœl* being the Saxon word used to designate the cross of our Lord. Why then should this place have been distinguished by such a name? The tradition to which I have alluded tells us that one of the ancient kings of the country had murdered his queen because she was a Christian, and that this church of Melbourne was built by him in expiation of his crime. Now, by referring to the history of the seventh century, we find that Ethelred of Mercia (whose residence was at Repton) was suspected of either having participated in or connived at the murder of his queen Osthrid, who was waylaid and murdered by her own people the Mercian nobles. Soon after this he was affected with melancholy, is said to have founded churches at different places, and in a very few years abdicated the sovereignty, and retired into a monastery at Bardney, where many years afterwards he died. Here then history and tradition have in the main features so perfect an agreement as evidently to point to the same transaction. We learn from Bede, that in some cases a church was erected upon the spot where a high personage had met a violent death, and provision was made for the offering up of prayers daily for the souls both of the murdered person and of him who had committed the crime; a custom, no doubt, owing its origin to the same feelings which extensively prevail upon the continent at the present day; and we often meet with a cross erected by the way-side to bespeak the prayers of the passing traveller for the soul of some one who has come to an untimely end. Is this custom necessarily an invention of modern times? May it not have existed equally with the practice which Bede records? Or even as a means of giving immediate effect to the desire, which could not be entirely carried out until after the time which must necessarily be occupied in building a place for perpetual prayer?

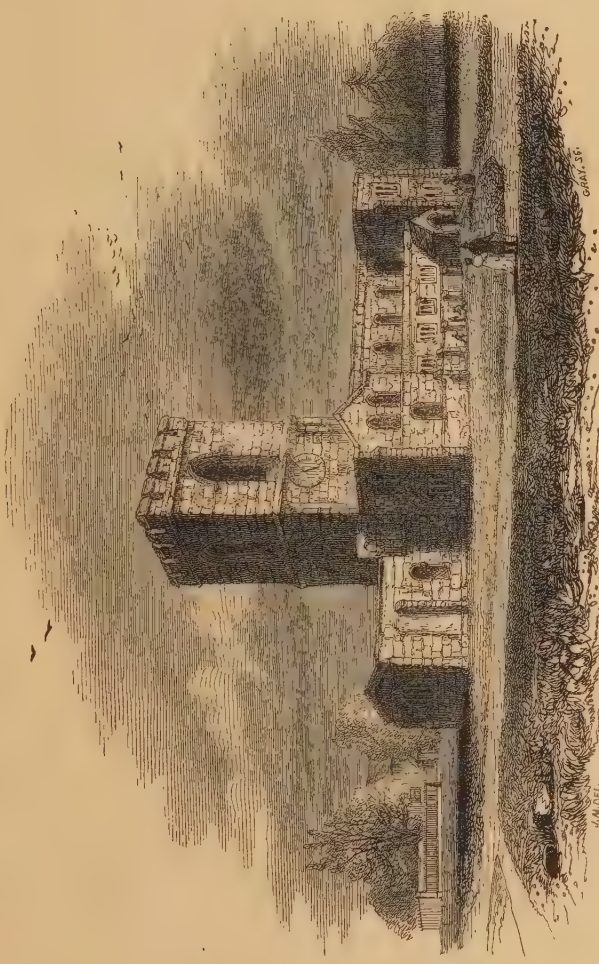
"There are some grounds then for supposing that Melbourne, and especially the site of Melbourne church, was the scene of Osthrid's murder; and we are enabled to fix upon a point of time from which Christian worship very probably began to be performed here. Osthrid was murdered in the year 697, according to Bede, and in 704 Ethelred became a monk. We may, therefore, presume, that before he retired from his kingdom, he had provided the means for religious worship in this place, and that a church of some kind was erected, which dates from about the year 700, the place being called Melbourne to designate the spot where the symbol of Christianity was erected near the brook.

"But what the character was of the building then raised cannot now be ascertained. It was certainly not that which we now see; for besides that, there is little probability of such an edifice being left uninjured by the Danes when they passed a winter at Repton in 874, and destroyed so many other religious buildings; we must notice also that the style of architecture is that belonging to a period long subsequent to the seventh century. We cannot even be certain that this first erection was of stone, although, if built by Ethelred under the circumstances alluded to, it is probable that it may have been, since there are examples of stone building in the immediate neighbourhood, such as the crypt at Repton, and perhaps a very little of Breedon church, which may be the remains of a celebrated monastery, from which, in the year 731, Tatwine was made archbishop of Canterbury, being a man renowned for religion and wisdom, and notably learned in sacred writ.

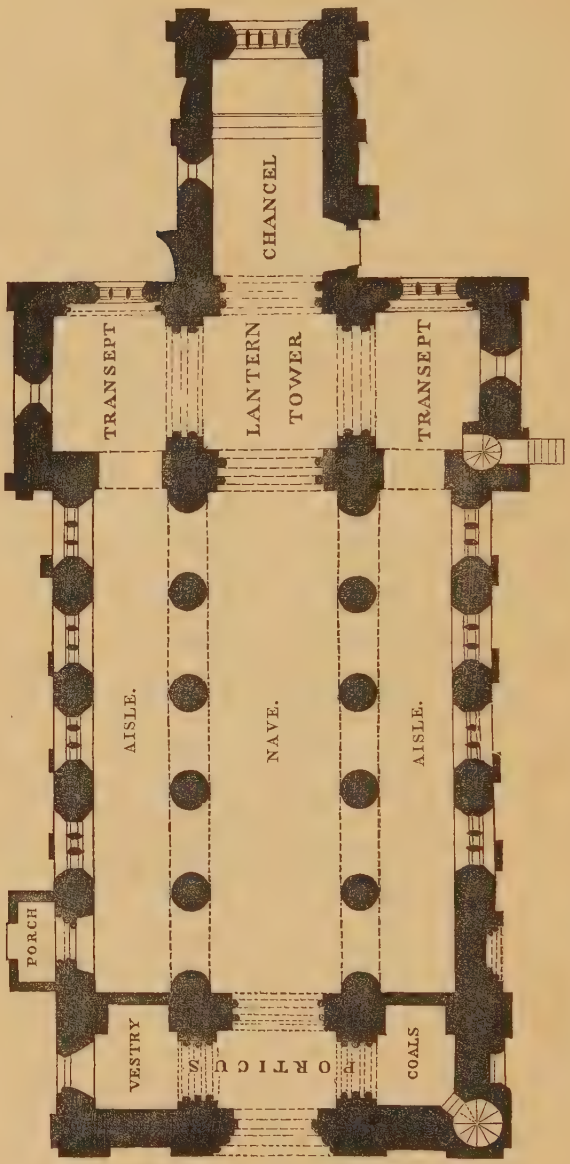
"Whatever may have been the character of that first building, however, there can be but little doubt that it was destroyed by the Danes. How long it was suffered to lie in ruins, and when and by whom the present building was erected, is necessarily, from the want of direct testimony, a mere matter of conjecture. I am too little acquainted with the different features of those styles of architecture which belong to different periods, to prevent me feeling diffident of hazarding an opinion in the presence of those who know better than myself. I believe it is perfectly natural for every one to desire to magnify the antiquity as well as the other characteristics of anything in which he is deeply and personally interested. This, therefore, must be my excuse if I seem to claim a more remote origin for this building than your better knowledge will allow you to admit. I was long anxious to believe that it was a Saxon church, but driven by conviction out of that opinion, I am inclined to consider it one of the first of the Anglo-Norman buildings, and the date of its erection not far from the time of the conquest.

"I need not occupy your time with any lengthened description of the church, as, being on the spot, you will be able to inspect for yourselves. I shall, therefore, very briefly refer to this part of my subject, and the more willingly, because I do not feel myself able to do it justice.

"This church was evidently built upon the plan of the basilica: cruciform in structure, and having a lantern tower over the intersection of the nave and transept. The foot of the cross was formed by an extensive *porticus*, having towers at the north and south, and an elegant door forming the principal entrance at the west. The eastern end of the chancel formed an apse; and the same semi-circular recesses were found at the eastern extremity of the aisles, each of which is separated from the nave by a row of massive pillars connected by stilted semi-circular arches, and surmounted by arcades: that on the north side is the same in character as the rest of the building; that on the south appears to



North-east View of Melbourne Church, in its Present State.



Present Ground Plan of Melbourne Church.

have suffered injury and to have been rebuilt at a later period in a different style,—I say rebuilt, because I am convinced that it was not continuous work; for the wall shows clear marks of the introduction of the stone, built differently from the original. Since that time, many alterations have been made, but not with the view of preserving the building in its beauty. It has been substantially repaired, but generally at the expense of some of its characteristic features; and now perhaps it is in greater danger than it has ever been. It is far from being in a satisfactory state: the roof is very bad, and the rain makes its way into the church in many places to a considerable extent; and I wish that I could see any prospect of its substantial repair: I dare not entertain a hope of its restoration. There is no real anxiety among those who should be most interested in its preservation, to take such steps as might prove a safeguard for that which is left. The work which is admitted to be necessary is put off time after time; so that I fear it will come too late at last; and antiquaries of a future generation will have to lament that a specimen of the work of our forefathers which might now be easily restored, has been suffered to waste away, till, like the castle near it, there is nothing left but a shapeless wall."

By the kindness of the author of the preceding paper, the Council are enabled to present to the Association some illustrations connected with Melbourne church, from the rev. Mr. Deans' interesting work, *Melbourne Church*, published in 1843, and of which a notice was given in the *Journal* of the Association, vol. ii, pp. 207-212.

Plate XXXVI presents a N.E. view of the church, taken in 1842, and exhibits it in its present state; and plate XXXVII gives a ground plan of the same.

"During the autumn of 1842, the workmen, while cleaning the church, removed the whitewash from one of the pillars, which was found to be covered with figures rudely painted, but in such an imperfect state, that the subject could not be clearly ascertained. They seemed, however, to have reference to some occurrence similar to queen Osthrid's death, and the subsequent provision made for prayers for her soul. In the centre was represented a crucifix; and in the compartments by which it was surrounded, were various figures, the chief of which was that of a male, holding in one hand a large club, and, with the other, grasping the wrist of a female, whose head is here represented.

"There had been another painting on the same pillar previous to this, of which there could be distinguished only the figure of a knight in armour, as if in the act of striking: it appeared to have been

well executed, and probably related to the same subject; but when it became defaced, it was considered easier to paint the whole afresh than to repair the old one."[1]

J. Joseph Briggs, esq., of King's Newton, then read the following observations on the antiquities of Melbourne:—

"The little town of Melbourne is situated in the hundred of Repton and Gresley; seven miles from Ashby-de-la-Zouch, eight from Derby, and amidst some of the richest scenery which the south of Derbyshire can produce. The southern end stands pleasantly elevated on the brink of a beautiful pool, and is undoubtedly the most ancient part of the town. It is scarcely necessary to offer many remarks upon the origin of the name, as it has been already noticed by the gentleman who preceded me. Conjectures respecting it have been various; some of them singularly ingenious; I will, however, just glance at the most probable.

"The church is dedicated to St. Michael, and it has been supposed that the word 'Melbourne' is merely a corruption of '*Michael's bourne*', or '*boundary*'. Again: as early as the period when *Domesday Book* was compiled, a 'mill' was in existence here; and as the word *burn* was anciently synonymous with *stream*, some writers have supposed that Melbourne derived its name from the circumstance of its being situated upon a stream which turned a mill; or perhaps from possessing, during the earliest times, a mill turned by a stream. But that conjecture which has been brought before you, ascribing the derivation to a historical circumstance, may perhaps seem the most simple and satisfactory.

"That Melbourne was known to the Romans, seems questionable, although there are some grounds for such a supposition. Several circumstances lead to the conclusion, that a Roman road existed within a very short distance of it, and Roman coins of Constantine, Gallienus, Postumus, and Tetricus, have been picked up by persons when engaged in husbandry.

"There can be no doubt of its existence in the time of the Saxon heptarchy; and it would seem that it had, after its foundation, risen rapidly into a place of considerable importance. The venerable Bede informs us, that 'in the ninth year of king Ecgfrid, a great battle was fought between him and Ethelred, king of the Mercians, near the Trent, in which Elfin, brother of king Ecgfrid, was slain, being a youth about eighteen years of age, and much beloved by both provinces, for Ethelred had married his sister Ostrich.' It appears very probable that this battle took place near Barrow-upon-Trent (a village distant about four miles from Melbourne), and that the large tumulus which still exists there, and which has usually been referred to British origin, covers the bodies of those soldiers who were slain in the encounter.

"The most interesting structures which Melbourne formerly possessed,

[1] *Melbourne Church*, pp. 19-20.

were the church (of which the history has just been given) and the castle, which I will now proceed to speak of. It is pretty evident that there existed a castle at Melbourne at a very early period; indeed, tradition asserts so early as the reign of the illustrious Alfred. If, however, a fortress did exist here previously to the Norman conquest, it must have been merely a strong keep, or hold, and not that magnificent structure which reared its lofty towers and antique balconies, and braved the various tumults of succeeding ages. By whom, or at what period it was built, we have no authentic record. That it was in existence in the year 1307, is certain; and that before that period it was not a fortress of much strength and importance, seems very probable; as, soon afterwards, king Henry II granted to Robert de Holland a considerable breadth of land in Melbourne, and also the privilege of 'castellating his mansion there'. From several circumstances, I infer that Robert de Holland spent a considerable portion of his time amidst his possessions here, and he would doubtless endeavour, during those insecure and perilous times, to render his residence, the castle, as complete as possible. To him, therefore, may be attributed the commencement (if not the completion) of that magnificent pile of building which existed for a period of about three hundred years. Dugdale records, 'that in 1322, John de Hardeshull was joined in the governorship of the castles of Donington and Melbourne. About 1327, it came into possession of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who died possessed of it in the first year of Edward III.' Camden, in his *Britannia*, says, 'Not very far from the Trent stands Melbourne, a castle of the king's, now decaying, where John, duke of Bourbon, taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, was kept nineteen years in the custody of Nicholas Montgomery the younger.' This 'prisoner of account', as Speed calls him, was taken by king Henry V, and sent to Melbourne to be imprisoned for life; but on the accession of king Henry VI to the throne, his release was effected by the payment of £18,000; but he died 'on the very day on which he was to have set foot for France.' His constitution might have been much impaired by the harsh treatment he received; for tradition asserts that he was confined closely in the dungeons of the castle, and but barely supplied with provision sufficient for his existence. This prince was buried in London in the Grey Friars, now the seat of Christ Church school. We read in Stowe's *Annals*, that the castle was dismantled by Margaret, queen to Henry VI; yet Leland, who wrote in the time of Henry VIII (about 1550), represents it in his day as 'praty and in meately good reparation'. Probably, the fortification had been repaired by Edward IV.

"Sir Ralph Shirley, a man of distinguished valour at the battle of Agincourt, was governor of Melbourne castle. In 1602, Thomas Fanshaw, then auditor of the duchy of Lancaster, made a survey by order of queen Elizabeth, in which he notices 'that her majesty hath a faire and

anciente castle, which she keepeth in her own hands; that Gilbert, earl of Shaftesbury, was constable of the same, and bailiffe by letters patent, during his life, with the annual fee of £10.' There is a tradition that king Henry V made the castle his hunting seat when he hunted the three great midland forests of Sherwood, Charnwood, and Needwood, on account of its being situated at a convenient distance from each.

"I have made these few brief remarks with reference to the early history of the castle, which is brought to the reign of queen Elizabeth, when the pile was still in existence, and I would now call your attention to its demolition and present state. It was a noble and magnificent building, having numerous towers, turrets, and singular projecting balconies, in appearance very much resembling the one which existed at Pontefract in Yorkshire. It stood on the eastern side of the town, slightly elevated above the surrounding country, and when seen in the distance, its grey towers being illumined by the splendour of a setting sun, must have been a grand and most imposing object. But with the poet, we may well ask—

'Where *is* this ancient castle hoar,
Renowned in barbarous days of yore?'

All that remains of it now is about fifty yards of the outer or surrounding wall, by which the castle was protected, no vestige of other fortification being visible. The labour bestowed upon the erection of the building must have been immense, as the ruins, although divested of the facing stones, now measure three yards in thickness. The castle, with its outworks, offices, orchards, and fish pools, covered more than twenty acres of ground.

"By what means its destruction was effected, we have no record; tradition indeed asserts by the troops of Cromwell; but it is scarcely to be supposed that a place in such a dilapidated state as it then was, could have offered any reason for a visit from Cromwell himself. The destruction of it, however, may have been the work of some of his followers, probably sir John Gell, who raised a regiment of foot, and was very active in this neighbourhood on behalf of the parliament.

"Amongst those objects of interest which Melbourne once possessed, but which have now disappeared, was the palace of the bishops of Carlisle, a very ancient and picturesque structure, which stood on the north bank of the pool, and was erected by Walter Malclerk, bishop of Carlisle, or one of his immediate successors, who were accustomed to retire to this mansion during the frequent inroads and devastations of the Scots in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. Bishop Kirkby held his ordination here on account of the border wars. This mansion was pulled down some years since.

"Near the palace stood at that period a chantrey chapel, dedicated to St. Katherine, very richly endowed with lands in the neighbourhood,

and the priest having a residence provided for him. It was founded in 1379, by William Bars, and much increased in wealth by sir Ralph Shirley, who bequeathed lands to secure masses being chanted for the benefit of his own soul and the souls of his four wives, and also those of his parents. It was dissolved during the reign of king Henry VIII, when the endowment lands were (it is supposed) purchased by the Meynells of Willington.

"Amongst those objects of interest at present existing in Melbourne, are the hall and gardens. The hall stands upon a spot of ground once occupied by the old rectory house, formerly the residence of the Coke family. When Thomas Coke, vice-chamberlain to queen Anne, came into possession of the property, he altered and enlarged some parts of the old house, built others, and left the hall as it at present exists. The interior contains some interesting family paintings by good masters. There is an incident of literary interest connected with Melbourne hall, worth noticing. It was here that Baxter, the celebrated divine, composed his *Saints' Rest.*

"The gardens belonging to the hall are the chief attraction. They are a curious and elegant relic of the old style of horticulture, which was brought from Holland by William III, consisting of groves, statues, fountains, etc. They were laid out by the right hon. Thomas Coke, and from their peculiar style, and the care bestowed upon them, can scarcely be surpassed in beauty by anything of the kind in England. There is a beautiful vase at the junction of three avenues of lime trees, which cost three hundred guineas, and demands peculiar attention, from the fact that it was presented by queen Anne to her vice-chamberlain, Thomas Coke, as an especial mark of her royal favour.

"At the hamlet of King's Newton, situated within the parish of Melbourne, at present remains an ancient mansion, so long the residence of the Hardinges, the ancestors of the present lord viscount Hardinge, late governor-general of India. It was there that sir Robert Hardinge, the distinguished royalist, had the honour of entertaining his unfortunate monarch Charles II, and probably during his troubles, for his majesty left written on a pane of glass some words, clearly pointing out a hope of better times. The words were 'CRAS ERO LUX', and their peculiarity consisted in this, that the letters, when transposed, made 'CAROLUS REX'.

"This interesting relic was fraudulently removed about twenty-six years ago, by an unknown hand. There is also at King's Newton a little holy well, founded by this same Robert Hardinge, the head-stone of which bears this inscription:—'FONS SACER HIC STRUITUR ROBERTO NOMINIS HARDINGE. 1660.'

"In conclusion, I would beg to observe that many circumstances in the history of this place have been purposely omitted, from a fear of

trespassing too long upon your valuable time, and I would ask your indulgence for the very imperfect manner in which I have brought the subject before you."

Having inspected Melbourne hall and gardens, which were very kindly opened to the Association by the noble proprietor, the party proceeded to visit Repton church and priory, where they were received by the rev. Dr. Peile, head master of the Grammar school, and Mrs. Peile. They were saluted with every mark of rejoicing and respect. The fine bells of the church tower rung out a merry peal. The priory archway was enlivened by a flag, which waved gracefully above its hoary battlements; a floral arch had been erected in front of the Grammar school, and everything was done which could give *éclat* to the visit. The party adjourned to the church, every portion of which was minutely examined.[1] The curious crypt formed an object of very general attraction and remark, from the singularly primitive style of its architecture. On leaving this, the party proceeded to Dr. Peile's kitchen-garden, where several excavations had been made, and by these excavations very interesting facts were brought to light. The excavators had come upon and laid bare several portions of the foundations of massive walls and of a large pillar. The latter of these, from its characteristic features, was at once pronounced to be the north-east pillar of a central tower of some vast ecclesiastical edifice. Its situation and markings afforded a key to the general structure of the edifice, and digging in several parts of the ground, indicated by the dimensions and position of the pillar, other fragments of foundations were discovered, answering in all ways to the expected remains, and quite sufficient to enable the architects to complete the probable ground-plan of the chancel and transepts of a building which had been long obliterated from the earth, and having its base mould-

Seal of Repton Hospital and School.

[1] It is very gratifying to learn, that since the visit of the Association, the fine old pillars of the church have been judiciously scraped, and that after a month's renovation, *not white-washed* afresh, they present themselves in their proper mediæval character, and that with the walls above them they are brought back to their primitive grey colour. It is intended, in the next summer, to introduce two more pointed arches in lieu of the unsightly round arches that intervene now between the Norman nave and Saxon chancel; and if funds can be raised (to which we beg to direct the attention of our wealthier associates), to restore the old oak roof.

ings buried several feet beneath the earth's surface. Having minutely examined the whole of the interesting remains, the party adjourned to the school-house, where Mr. Ashpitel read a paper. (See pp. 263-283, *ante*.)

The paper concluded, the Association were invited to partake of an elegant entertainment provided by the rev. Dr. and Mrs. Peile, to whom sir Oswald Mosley made all due acknowledgments for their hospitality and most obliging attention. The party then returned to Derby to attend the public dinner in the Athenæum room attached to the Royal hotel. The large room was well filled; sir Oswald Mosley, bart., president, occupying the chair. After the usual loyal toasts had been given, the chairman proposed "the patrons of the British Archæological Association". Among these he was proud to name his grace the duke of Devonshire, whose kind welcome and princely hospitality they had participated in; his grace the duke of Rutland, whose great condescension had honoured the Association with a personal meeting in the venerable and stately apartments of Haddon hall, and whose kindness had induced him to deposit, for a first time, in the hands of the Association, those valuable documents with which he had interested them. He might further add, that when his grace understood that the Association were to visit Haddon hall, he had expressed his desire to furnish them with some refreshment, and was only prevented from doing so, by being informed that Mr. Bateman had invited them to luncheon at Yolgrave. The next was his excellent friend the bishop of the diocese, who had only been prevented from joining the meeting by the pressure of his official duties. Without further preface, he would call on them to drink the healths of their graces the dukes of Devonshire and Rutland, and the bishop of Lichfield.

The chairman next gave "Prosperity to the British Archæological Association."

Rear-admiral sir H. Dillon called on the company to join with him in drinking the health of "sir Oswald Mosley", their indefatigable president, whose hospitality, urbanity, and inexhaustible enthusiasm in their behalf, they had all experienced.

Sir Oswald Mosley returned thanks, expressing himself delighted to have been so cordially seconded by all in forwarding the views of the Association. He concluded by proposing the health of "Mr. Heywood", a gentleman in whom the Association possessed a real friend.

Mr. Heywood, in returning thanks, remarked, that the meeting had been more numerously attended and more successful in pursuing its objects in Derby than at almost any other place; he should, therefore, be glad if they could accept the invitation offered to them by Mr. Chandos Pole, and revisit this interesting district next year.

The chairman then gave "the Members of Parliament for the county and borough"; remarking, that if all the members of the Archæological Institute

would adopt the same friendly spirit as Mr. Mundy, and the rev. Mr. Hamilton Gray, of Bolsover, both members of the institute, there would be not only an end to any chance jealousy of feeling on either side, but the common objects pursued by both might probably be even more fully accomplished.

Mr. Mundy, in returning thanks, expressed the delight he felt in attending such meetings as the present congress had been, especially after the fierce strife of politics had been temporarily abated.

The chairman then gave "the health of Douglas Fox, esq., the mayor of Derby", whose kindness and attention in forwarding the objects of the meeting deserved its warmest thanks.

The mayor acknowledged the honour paid to him, and to the borough of Derby, by the congress of the British Archæological Association holding its meeting in this quarter. Before concluding, he trusted, he said, that he should be honoured with the company of every lady and gentleman who had attended the meeting at breakfast in the same room to-morrow morning.

The chairman gave as a toast, "the healths of those who had so kindly and hospitably entertained them on their tours". In connexion with this toast, he begged to give the name of Dr. Peile.

The rev. Dr. Peile gracefully acknowledged the compliment.

Several other complimentary toasts were afterwards given, and the meeting was addressed by sir F. Dwarris, T. J. Pettigrew, esq., J. R. Planché, esq., Charles Baily, esq., A. White, esq., Henry J. Stevens, esq., W. E. Mousley, esq., etc., the evening passing off in the most agreeable manner.

Saturday, August 23rd.

The mayor's breakfast, abounding with delicacies and all kinds of refreshment, was attended by upwards of a hundred ladies and gentlemen, including Mrs. Fox, who from indisposition had been unable to attend the previous meetings of the congress. The mayor expressed the unmitigated pleasure he had experienced in meeting so many who had been, but who, he trusted, would be strangers no longer. He farther declared, that to him, as chief magistrate of the borough of Derby, the meeting would have been even more delightful than it had been, if he had been permitted to show more hospitality and more attention than he had been able to do; but such had been the arduous and indefatigable resolution of the ladies and gentlemen to explore every object worth inspection in the district, that not one of them was ever to be found in the town. He should, however, remember with unfading pleasure, the happy meetings he had had with the association, and the kind cordiality with which they had communicated intelligence upon all subjects. The borough of Derby, he assured the congress, felt honoured in being the seat of such a meeting. In conclusion, he begged to drink all their very good healths,

and in particular the health of sir Oswald Mosley, whose arduous duties as chairman might well have tasked the powers and endurance of a younger man; but whose cordial hospitality, untiring perseverance, and kind attention, had been the deserved theme of admiration of all.

Sir Oswald Mosley returned thanks in his own name and in that of the association, for the uniform attention, kindness, and able assistance he had experienced from every one present, and in particular from his friend the mayor of Derby.

The meeting then adjourned to the dining-room of the hotel, where several papers were read. Dr. Lee, V.P., delivered an interesting discourse on "the Papyrus", which displayed great research, and exhibited a fine specimen of that plant which he had procured at Chatsworth on Wednesday. He farther illustrated his subject by specimens of MS. papyri of Egypt.

Mr. Reed read numerous extracts from parish records, and gave a few notices of the municipal affairs of Derby. (See pp. 298-303 *ante*.)

Mr. Pettigrew, in the absence of Mr. Mayer, who had been called away from the Meeting, read a paper on "the Mock Mayor of Newcastle-under-Lyme":—

"Some of the old customs of our forefathers are interesting to us, as affording curious illustrations of their habits, manners, and costume; in the one now before us, we have probably a remnant of such scenes as were enacted near three hundred years ago, and a proof of their unconquerable determination to assert their rights during a long series of years, when the people had only the semblance of justice, and 'might' often 'overcame right'.

"In the earlier part of the reign of Henry the second, the king granted a charter (or rather confirmed a much earlier one) of incorporation to the borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme, which was held as a form for subsequent charters granted to various towns, amongst which is the town of Preston in Lancashire, where the burghers are allowed 'the same liberties and free customs which I have given and granted to my burgesses of Newcastle-under-Lyme'. On the 18th May, 1590, queen Elizabeth, in the thirty-second year of her reign, granted the first governing charter to the town, with power of hanging and gibbeting, and independence of the county court; and along with it was a confirmation of the right of the 'burgesses' to elect a mayor; but this privilege was shortly afterwards usurped by the members of the corporation, and confined to their own body. By this means the burgesses were deprived of exercising their chartered rights; and finding their attempts to recover their privileges ineffectual, they determined to cast an odium upon the ceremony of election, yet in some measure to retain the semblance of their rights, *by electing a 'mock mayor'*. At this ceremony, every act was a burlesque on the corporate election. It took place in the following manner. After

the election and proclamation of the mayor had taken place at the Town hall, by the self-elected 'alderman' and 'free burgesses', and they and their friends had retired, the burgesses assembled at the market cross, and having proclaimed that the functions of their late mayor had ceased, they set about the election of a new one, in which none but burgesses were allowed to participate. The new mayor, having been formally proposed, was duly elected by acclamation. Then followed an eulogy on their late (popular) mayor, stating the superlative excellencies of his demeanour, charity, and forbearance, contrasting them with the arrogance and tyranny of the usurper; and the whole finished with a proclamation of the newly-elected chief magistrate.

"This ceremony was annually gone through for a period of more than two hundred and thirty years, and so annoying was it to the corporate dignities, that in some instances his 'mock' worship was put into the stocks, as a punishment for the share he took in the burlesque scenes, which were often very cutting, and exhibited a great deal of rancour and ill-feeling."

A painting by Mr. R. Buss was exhibited by Mr. Mayer, being a view of the ceremony as it took place on the 29th October, 1833, after the freemen had regained their privileges by a long and vexatious trial at law against the self-elect corporation. They thereby obtained a confirmtion of their old charter, and by an unanimous voice elected Samuel Mayer, esq., of Thistleberry, to occupy the civic chair, as the first of the new regime. So firmly had the custom become established, that although the people had now a mayor of their own choice, and consequently had no longer any occasion for the burlesque, still they loved the fun it created, and, as usual, assembled in solemn conclave around the market cross.

The following notes on the discovery of Roman and other remains, at Borrowash, by Mr. Briggs, were also read:

"The village of Borrowash is situated about five miles from Derby, and would probably be the same distance from the Roman station Derventio.

"When the Midland Counties railway was in the course of formation, and the workmen were excavating near that village, they cut through the centre of a piece of ground which had evidently been a tumulus or barrow, and many interesting remains were discovered. The situation was rather elevated, a few hundred yards from the river Derwent, but the surface of the ground bore no indication of anything remarkable being contained beneath.

"About two feet below the surface of the earth, the soil assumed a blackish tinge, and a quantity of bones, evidently burnt, were found; they were black, but tolerably sound, except when pressed hard with the fingers, when they mouldered to dust.

"As the labourers proceeded with their work, whole skeletons of the

human body appeared, probably in number about eighty. Nine of them were very large, and lay due east and west. One of them had undergone more regular interment, being encased, as it were, in a rude kind of vault, over which stones had been piled. These, however, were irregular in shape, and bore no traces of having been worked by any instrument. Underneath one skeleton, was a singularly shaped stone, having a hole bored through the centre, which appeared to be a weapon of warfare. Through one skull a hole was broken, and in the interior was found the head of an arrow, made of flint. At a later period, was discovered a singular box, containing some amulets, a blue bead, and an ornament resembling a brooch, but rudely and massively made. This was in size about an inch square, and made of metal, apparently brass. In another part of the ground, was discovered a small vase, composed of whitish clay, without ornament, and very rude in design. This contained the burnt bones of a bird (apparently a pigeon), and a Roman coin, in beautiful preservation, of Constantine. The burnt bones of the ox and sheep, and the tusks of the boar, were found in great abundance; probably they would have filled three bushels. The horns of the ox appeared to have been purposely broken into fragments varying from three to six inches in length.

"As we have previously observed, the station Derventio was within a short distance from the place where these remains were discovered, and it seems probable that there was there a strong skirmish between the Romans and Britons, one party being determined to defend the pass over the river, and the other to force their way through it."

Alleyne Fitzherbert, esq., made the following communication through H. J. Stevens, esq.

"In reply to your circular announcing the intended meetings of the Archæological society at Derby during this month, I am sorry to say, that, though fond enough of archæology in the abstract, I am not practically of much information. Your programme does not bring the archæologists very near Bentley, or I should like to have heard what they think of our *innumerable barrows* on the hill tops about this part of the country. Mr. Bateman, who has opened so many, takes them, I believe, to be *British* burial grounds; and such, I fancy, is the general opinion. I have been reading, however, Mr. Kemble's *Anglo-Saxons*. According to him, the names of places ending in *ington*, as, in our own county, Tissington, Brassington, Carsington, Hollington, Hartington, Kennington, Eggington, Willington, Taddington, Eckington, Brimington, etc., denote, in a common way, the *original Saxon* settlements, so many of which are in this immediate neighbourhood, and are surrounded and studded *so thickly* with these *barrows* (most, if not all the hills on which they stand having *Saxon* names).

"Now, on examining a map of the county, by the light of Mr. Kemble's

book, the *marks*, the Saxon districts that is, surrounding these original settlements, are most clearly defined in a great number of cases; more so, I think, in this county than *any other*. And only yesterday I visited *Motelow*, a hill in this neighbourhood, with the view of discovering the site of the ancient Saxon *moots* or meetings of chiefs for public business. I found it exactly as I expected. A *barrow*, wider and flatter than usual, capable of holding, I should say, one hundred men, seated comfortably in a circle, or more, on the top of a hill, like all other barrows, and enjoying such a prospect as is not often seen even from our hills. This *Saxon name* for a hill containing a barrow situated so exactly as all others are, and their multiplicity in the neighbourhood of these '*ingtons*', lead me to suggest a doubt as to their British origin, and to ascribe them to the first pagan Saxon settlers. Almost every hill containing a barrow has a *Saxon* name; some of them after their gods, *e. g.*, *Setterlow*, near Parwich, and this is of a piece with other names of places about, such as Grindleford bridge (Grendel), Throwley, *Thor's* Cave, and *perhaps Grindon*.

"However this may be, this whole county, I think (except *perhaps* some places in the High Peak), may be accounted for in their relation to the old Saxons *marks* and *dens*.

"Mr. Bateman can answer for the extraordinary number of barrows about these parts. I am bold enough to say that not a single hill can be pointed out, from the top of which a prospect can be got in *all directions*, which is without one; *usually*, there is one at *each end* of each *ridge*. At a distance, and *against* the *horizon*, they may often be seen for miles, like a *wart* on the hill, just destroying the *natural outline*. On a nearer approach, they are known by being formed of *loose stones* or earth (not *rock*), and by the pit by the side of them from which they have been dug.

"Any person who is curious about them might see any number of them in a couple of hours' ride from here. There are *two* on Mappleton callow; one immediately above my house, at Bentley; one or two on *Hollington*, the hill from which Mr. Goodwin Johnson's stone was got for his house; one close by the *upper* (northern) Tissington gates; several large ones on *Weever*. But it is of no use enumerating them; they are without number.

"But 'barrows' apart—whether they are British, or Saxon, or *both*,—the *county* is Saxon all over, with its history to be traced by its names more clearly a great deal than in its annals. When so many of the modern 'witan' are together, they should see, and acknowledge, and rejoice in the fact."

Mr. Fitzherbert's idea of the barrows in his neighbourhood being of Saxon origin, will, Mr. Bateman thinks, be untenable, unless the Saxons who invaded these parts were armed with weapons of flint, stone, and bone, and sometimes with bronze daggers and celts; and if this be the

case, to whom are to be attributed the weapons of iron, etc., which are sometimes found with interments near the surface of tumuli, in which relics manifestly of earlier ages are found lower down?

Mr. Bateman says that he has not yet opened a dozen barrows in which the *primary interments* could be considered of the iron period, and he has yet to be convinced that even in all cases iron is to be attributed to the Saxon period, though doubtless the greater proportion of such deposits must be assigned to that people.

Several other papers were presented to the meeting, but time would not permit of their being read; their titles were therefore merely enumerated, and they were referred for the ordinary public meetings of the association.

Various resolutions of thanks were then passed: to the officers of the Association, for their services; to the committee of the Derby museum, for the loan of their valuable collections for exhibition to the Association; to the committees of the Town and County library and news-room and the committee of the Athenæum news-room, for the admissions to them so kindly granted to the members of the Association; and to the gentlemen of the press, who had so indefatigably attended the excursions and faithfully reported the proceedings of the congress.

The president then closed the congress; and the final excursion to Little Chester and Morley church were entered upon prior to the dispersion of the associates and visitors, who all declared themselves to have passed a week in the greatest harmony and with unalloyed satisfaction and instruction.

On reaching Little Chester, the party made a hasty survey of the spot at which a Roman bridge crossed the Derwent; and the mayor of Derby stated, that while a boy he had been so smitten with archæological taste, that he, accompanied by some of his companions, used to come there of a Saturday and hunt for coins, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the farm house. Coins were there occasionally found by them and others, mostly copper, of the reign of the emperor Constantine. Mr. White was fortunate enough to obtain some coins from this spot, and they prove upon examination to be those of—

Nero	1	Gallienus	2
Domitian	1	Tetricus	1
Severus Alexander	1	Constantine	1

After a few remarks upon this spot as the ancient Derventio, by sir Oswald Mosley, the excursionists set off for Morley church, where T. Osborne Bateman, esq., accompanied by the rev. S. Fox, rector of Morley, conducted the party over this highly interesting edifice. Mr. Bateman explained that, with the exception of the elegant tracery in the windows of the north aisle, all the mason-work is original. It is in many respects peculiar, and of great interest.

The rev. Mr. Fox, who is about to publish a history of Morley church, having kindly entrusted to Mr. J. G. Waller the tracings of the windows of stained glass, in order that that gentleman may furnish to the Association a paper upon the subject, it is unnecessary to enter into any description of them in this place. Mr. Waller's paper will probably appear in the ensuing number of this *Journal*.

It remains only to add, that in the rooms of the Athenæum were collected together an extensive variety of antiquities, rubbings from brasses, drawings, paintings, engravings, publications, etc., chiefly in reference to the county of Derby, and that it is intended in a future number of the *Journal* to describe and figure the most important and interesting of the objects exhibited.

The council most sincerely offer their thanks, for the assistance afforded them in forming a museum, to sir Oswald Mosley, bart., president; the lady Vernon; the right hon. Edward Strutt, M.P.; Douglas Fox, esq., mayor of Derby; W. E. Mousley, esq.; Robert Thornewell, esq.; Henry J. Stevens, esq.; F. J. Jessopp, esq.; rev. C. S. Cotton; rev. Beale Poste; T. S. Reed, esq.; Joseph Mayer, esq., F.S.A.; Llewellynn Jewitt, esq.; Robert Wilmot, esq.; J. B. Robinson, esq.; — Bomrose, esq.; J. J. Briggs, esq.; W. Williamson, esq.; Dr. John Lee, F.R.S., F.S A.; Edward Pretty, esq.; C. Spence, esq.; William Lister, esq.; Mrs. Huggins; and to the trustees of the Derby museum.

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ON SOUTH WINFIELD MANOR AND MANOR HOUSE.

BY THE REV. J. R. ERRINGTON, M.A.

South Winfield Manor House stands about half a mile to the west of the Midland railway—is fourteen miles from Derby, and three from the town of Alfreton. Although it is now a mere ruin, occupying a space of two acres, yet enough of it remains to show that it was once a most spacious and stately edifice. It is situated on the summit of a steep hill, and presents a very imposing and picturesque appearance; the slopes and valley below being well clothed with ornamental and ancient timber.

Manor.—It appears that this manor was held at the time of the domesday survey by one Robert, under Alan, earl of Britanny, who held under William Peverel. By the Peverels it was conveyed to the De Pavely family, who possessed it for many generations; under them, as lords paramount, it was held by the baronial family of Heric or Heriz. It came, *temp.* Edward II, by marriage to Roger Belers, whose heiress brought it to the Swyllingtons. In the reign of Henry VI, Ralph, lord Cromwell, treasurer of the exchequer in 1430, acquired this manor as nearest of kin to Margaret Swyllington, and he sold the reversion to John Talbot, second earl of Shrewsbury. In this family it continued till 1616, when it was divided between the three co-heiresses of Gilliert, seventh earl. A third part of the manor and estate was purchased of the duke

of Norfolk by Imanuel Halton, esq., in 1678, who resided at the manor. Another portion was purchased of the duke of Shrewsbury by the Leacroft family. In 1774, in consequence of a partition of the estate, the whole of the manor house became the property of Imanuel Halton, esq., who at length ceased to reside in it, and erected the present house in the valley, which is now occupied by his grandson, the rev. Imanuel Halton.

Manor house.—The early mansion of the lords of Winfield, there is reason to believe, was near to the Peacock Inn, on the turnpike-road between Derby and Chesterfield, on the site of Ufton Hall. But the present manor house was erected by Ralph, lord Cromwell, treasurer to Henry VI. It was surrounded by a park of one thousand acres, was embattled and castellated, having several towers, the one at the south-west corner rising higher than any of the rest, and commanding a very extensive prospect; the north front was strengthened by a deep fosse or trench. The main road wound up to the house by the eastern slope of the hill. An extensive lake, at the head of which was a mill, spread over the valley to the north and west.

Although, from the general aspect and architectural features, the entire building seems to have been planned in lord Cromwell's time, it is yet probable that it was not finished at his death; for, in the steward's accounts, after it came into the possession of John, second earl of Shrewsbury, who was killed at the battle of Northampton, there are large charges for covering the manor house, plumbers' work, etc. The same accounts show that this earl kept house here: there is no doubt that Winfield Manor was one of the principal seats of his five immediate successors. George, fourth earl, died here in 1541. It was his grandson, George, sixth earl, who, for seventeen years, had the custody of Mary, queen of Scots, and who during that period resided at Chatsworth, Winfield, Tutbury, and Sheffield. In May and July 1569, she dates her letters from South Winfield. "In this year", says Camden, "Leonard Dacres contrived a way how to convey the captive queen out of custody, wherein she was kept at Winfield, in the county of Derby, under the earl of Shrewsbury. Northumberland being a partner in the

plot, discovered the same to the duke (Norfolk). But the duke forbade it to be put in execution, fearing lest they should deliver her to the Spaniard for wife, and hoping ere long to procure Elizabeth's consent." It is probable that another attempt made to liberate her, by a Mr. Hall and the younger sons of the earl of Derby, was at this place; as George Rolston, gentleman-pensioner to queen Elizabeth, who discovered the plot, was son of Francis Rolston, gentleman, of Lea, a place about four miles from Winfield, and within half a mile of the house of Anthony Babington, of Dethick, who was afterwards executed for a conspiracy against the life of queen Elizabeth, to which he was led by his inclination to liberate the queen of Scots from her confinement. She was at Winfield in the months of November and December 1584. Hence she was removed to Tutbury Castle, January 13, 1585. It appears from sir Ralph Sadler's papers, that there were, in all, two hundred and ten gentlemen, yeomen, officers, and soldiers, employed in the custody of the queen of Scots at Winfield, in the month of November 1584. The queen's domestic establishment then consisted of five gentlemen, fourteen servitors, three cooks, four boys, three gentlemen's men, six gentlewomen, two wives, ten wenches and children. "The diet of the queen of Scots, on both fishe and fleshe days, is said to have been about sixteen dishes at both courses, dressed after their awne manner, sometimes more or less as the provision servethe. The two secretaryes, master of her household, the physicion and Du Preau, have a messe of seven or eight dishes, and do dyne always before the queene, and their awne servants have their reversion, and the rest of her folke dine with the reversion of her meat. Also her gentlewomen and the two wyves and other maids and children, being sixteen, have two messes of meat of nine dishes at both courses for the better sort, and five dishes for the meaner sort." The queene and her train are said to have consumed about ten tuns of wine a year. She was first committed to lord Shrewsbury's care in 1568 at Tutbury, and continued so till 1584. During this long period, he was continually teazed by Elizabeth's suspicions, so that his high office appears to have inflicted upon him a severity of punishment little inferior to that of his un-

fortunate captive. The fear of Elizabeth's displeasure induced him at times to exhibit a moroseness in his behaviour to Mary, which gave her a dislike to him, which she was unable to dissemble; while at other times, by real marks of kindness and attention to Mary, he drew upon himself the malevolence of a wife, ever alive to jealousy, and disposed to embitter his comforts, as well as the suspicions and rebukes of the queen, who had occasionally a satisfaction in mortifying and humbling the greatest of her subjects. His lordship was buried at Sheffield.

We find, that at the commencement of the civil war, Winfield manor house was garrisoned for the parliament; but a party of royalists, under the command of lord Newcastle, took it in November 1643, by storm. It was then made a royal garrison, under the command of colonel Molineux, and he was succeeded the year following by colonel Dalby. In July 1644, it was besieged by colonel Gell; and sir John Gell's account is, that, after routing colonel Bagot at Burton, "our men and horse returned to leaguer at Winfield manor again: colonel Gell finding that his ordnance would do no good against the manor, and understanding that major-general Craford had four great pieces, sent two of his officers unto him, to desire him to send him them for three or four days' battering; and in so doing, he would do the state and country good service, because it was a place that could not be otherwise taken, without they were pined out. Major-general Craford, desirous to do the state a service, came presently with his ordnance and some horse and foot thither; and so we planted ours and their ordnance together, and after three hours' battery, they yielded themselves, being about two hundred and twenty; and so, upon composition, every one marched to his own home." The traditionary report is, that colonel Gell's assault was begun on the east side, with cannon planted on Pentridge common, and that a half-moon battery, raised for its defence in this quarter, was soon carried. But a breach being found impracticable, general Craford's heavy pieces were brought to Crichwood, on the opposite side, whence they told with powerful effect, making such an impression on the wall, that a considerable breach was soon opened, and the besieged were obliged to

surrender. Colonel Dalby was killed during the siege; he had disguised himself in the dress of a common soldier, but being seen and known by a deserter, he was shot by him in the face as he was walking in the stables. In June 1646, the parliament directed the garrison of Winfield manor to be dismantled.

Description of the remains of the manor house.—The carriage approach winds up the steep eastern slope of the hill, and is shaded by venerable elm, yew, and ash trees, and brings you at length to the gate-house, which has a central and a side archway, the latter being for foot passengers only, and abutting on to the porter's lodge. This gate-house is about sixteen feet through, having corresponding arches on the western face. A large lateral arch opens from the footway, to enable the gate-keeper, stepping across, to communicate with the horse and carriage passage: this arch is semicircular; the others being obtuse, except the main eastern one, which, from the dropping of the key-stone, and from repair, has now a semicircular appearance. Part of the upper stage and side turrets, the roof, and battlements, are gone; there is no trace of a portcullis. Like the rest of the structure, it is built of fine hard stone, which exhibits few marks of corrosion. No date is to be found on any of the buildings. Having passed through the inner arch, you come into the first or outer court. On the left is a large portion of the manor barn; towards the right, eastwards, are remains of the stables, offices, and retainer's quarters. It was in the stable that colonel Dalby was shot, through a hole from the porter's lodge. The barn is well buttressed, and within still exhibits some fine square oak uprights supporting the roof. This outer court is nearly square, but the walls and buildings to the south and south-west are gone. There may have been a postern at the south-west corner. To the south, — the only side on which the ground does not fall,—just beyond the present stackyards, are extensive remains of a bastion and other defensive earthworks. In the middle of the court is the well, said to have been sunk during the last siege; the water supply having been previously brought from the hills to the west. The north side of the court presents an interesting façade, which is rendered very picturesque by the tall angular

chimney-shafts, capped with battlemented cornices, and the bold and lofty tower which occupies the western extremity.

In the centre is a double gateway, somewhat similar to the first, leading into the second court. Above the main arch, and occupying the centre, is a broad projecting label, returned at the ends, and charged with small shields, and encompassing four escutcheons on sunk panels; on one of them are expressed pouches or purses, the emblems of Cromwell, lord treasurer. The side turrets are remarkable—they were originally embattled—and like the great western tower, they are crenellated, presenting oillets or loop-holes at various intervals. The different apartments in this portion of the building seem most of them to have been entered from the inner court.

One cannot but here be struck with the extraordinary sharpness and freshness of the masonry, notwithstanding the decay of the cement. The hexagonal chimney-shafts are well seen from this gateway, of which the ceiling is gone, though the supporting corbels remain. The ornaments on the fire-place, and corners in the lodge to the left, are worth attention. The noble ruins which surround the inner quadrangle are very striking, and are rendered singularly picturesque by the green sward, the lichens, wild flowers, and the varied masses of foliage which have overrun and taken possession of the court and buildings. The grouping of the north side is really magnificent. The beautiful porch, the handsome window of the great saloon, the fine bay projecting from the upper side of the great banqueting hall on the right, and the three lofty gables rising to a height of nearly forty feet, at once give the beholder some idea of the former grandeur of Winfield manor house. The porch is immediately in front;—it led to the banqueting hall on the right, to the buttery on the left, and straight on to the platform and portal from which was probably a descent to the garden, court, and chapel. The whole line of buildings appears to have been embattled; and, from the main features, I should imagine they were finished before the reign of Henry VII. The porch, which is of two stages, is almost entire; under the battlements, which are charged with shields of arms, is a band of quatrefoils and rosettes; below is the old sun-

dial; the tracery of the window is gone, an arched label-moulding unites the two buttresses, whose top ledges die off into the angles of the wall very gracefully. On passing the doorway, you find, within a bench-table, a square-headed window, which is remarkable for its deep moulding.

Having passed the inner doorway, you have on the right the great hall, on the left the buttery and large offices beyond. Over these was the great saloon, which was lighted on the south by a fine window, ornamented by an ogee-crocketed hooding; above this, and high in the gable, is a small circular light, with pretty trefoil tracery. Further on to the left are the kitchens; the huge fire-places and ovens are still in existence. The west side of this court presents nothing but the bare walls, though once the most beautiful portion of the building, in which the queen of Scots resided; it communicated with the great tower, whence there is a tradition that she had an opportunity of seeing the friends approach with whom she held a secret correspondence.

The banqueting hall is about sixty-six feet by thirty-six; the lofty roof is gone, but the gable remains. It was lighted by a beautiful bay window, and by five large windows to the north, and four to the south; at the east end is an escutcheon in a wreath of alabaster, nearly defaced, charged with the bearings of George, sixth earl of Shrewsbury, and Gertrude Manners, his wife, impaled in their proper colours, twenty-seven in number. The staples for the arras are still fixed in the walls. Leading down from the dais, at the east end of the hall, is a staircase, which conducts to a spacious undercroft, over which the hall is built (see plate XXXVIII). This apartment is remarkable in its construction, and it is difficult to say for what purpose it was intended, whether for a place for stores, or as a hall for servants. The vaulted roof, which is much depressed, is admirably put together. It is supported by a row of octagon pillars, with responds at the side walls. The groining is massively ribbed, having huge bosses at the intersections; the diagonal ribbing is very broad. At the point where the cross-springers touch the walls, are carvings in relievo of grotesque figures, etc. A doorway, the door of which was once richly panneled,

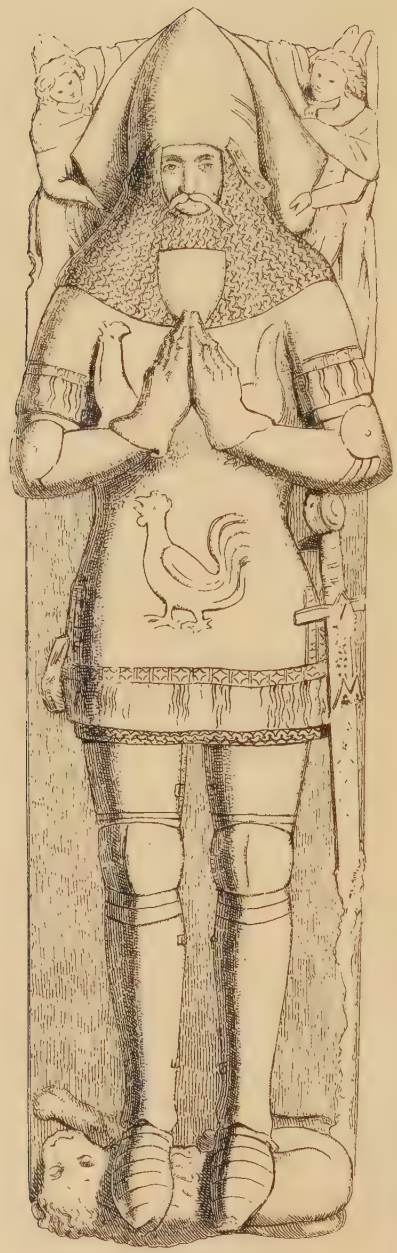
leads to the garden. To the north is the remnant of a turret, called the chapel-tower, and there is reason to believe that the chapel extended beyond the hall, to the north of it, but parallel to it; but no traces are to be seen of it.

Such are a few of the most interesting points in this once magnificent edifice. Even in decay and ruin it presents a stately aspect. Its owners, for generations and ages back, lie mouldering in the dust,—its halls and vaulted chambers no longer resound with the voice of mirth and festivity,—no fair forms move gracefully along its spacious tapestried saloon,—the mournful sigh of the captive queen has given place to the soft sighing of the breeze through the boughs and foliage of the clustering trees which overhang and enshadow her ruined apartments: the heavy tread of the soldiery, the din of arms, and the roar of artillery, are now succeeded by the lowing of the cattle and herds which are stalled within the southern court,—while in the valley below is to be heard the shrill whistle of the railway, which now brings many a visitor to view the ruins of Winfield manor house.

MONUMENTS OF THE COCKAYNE FAMILY IN ASHBOURNE CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A.

"These tombs," says Mr. W. T. Maunsell, in the notice with which he favoured the Association, "are in the north transept of Ashbourne church. *Several of them were moved and arranged* with the Borthley monuments some years ago, when the fine old church was repaired and disfigured by the erection of galleries." Moved and arranged! High time was it indeed that peripatetic antiquarian societies should be formed, if the sepulchral effigies of England's illustrious dead are worth preserving and identifying.



E. Pretty. del.

J. G. Waller. Sc.

Already the rank confusion, too visible in the majority of our cathedrals and churches, has rendered speculation almost vain, respecting scores of these interesting relics. In a very few more years, who can say what irreparable mischief might have been perpetrated by the movers and arrangers, the repairers and beautifiers, of our ecclesiastical antiquities? Thanks to the British Archæological Association, and the numerous societies to which it has given birth, such vandalism has received a wholesome check; and although a case now and then occurs, it rarely escapes public censure, and, what is of more importance to future antiquaries, record in the pages of this or similar journals. "The six tombs", continues Mr. Maunsell, "are sacred to the memory of John Cockayne, *temp.* Edward III; sir John Cockayne, knight, obiit 1403; John Cockayne, *temp.* Henry VII; sir Thomas Cockayne, knight, *temp.* Henry VII and VIII; Francis Cockayne, esq., and sir Thomas Cockayne, knight, obiit 1592." But of these six tombs (or rather six persons, for there are not six tombs), only the last three can at present be identified. There is no John Cockayne who died in 1403; and the "John Cockayne, *temp.* Henry VII", is buried at Youlgrave—at least, his monument is there.

The two earliest effigies are engraved on plate xxxix, from most accurate and beautiful drawings, made expressly for this Association by Mr. Pretty of Northampton. Fig. 1 presents us with the effigy of an aged man attired in the civil costume of a knight, or noble, of the reign of Edward III and Richard II, consisting of what is supposed by some antiquaries to be the cote-hardie, at any rate a tunic, with tight-fitting body and sleeves to the wrist, buttoned down the front and confined over the hips by the rich girdle or knightly belt, to which is attached on the right side a gypsire, or aulmoniere, ornamented with tassels. A mantle, fastened on the right shoulder and thrown back over the left arm, falls in graceful folds to the feet, and the whole figure forcibly recalls those of some of king Edward III's family on the south side of his monument in Westminster Abbey. On the head of the figure is a coif, and under the feet a lion.

Dugdale, in his *Church Notes*, preserved in the College of Arms, has made a drawing of this effigy, with the fol-

lowing observation: "In the north ile of this church at Ashborne stands a faire monument, with the portraitures of two men lying upon it, the one in armour, and the other in his coiffe and robes, as hereunder is represented. That in armour being for Edmund Cockaine, who married Elizabeth, the daughter and heir to Richard Herthull of Pooley, in the county of Warwick, esquire, by whom the said lordship of Pooley, with divers other lands of good value, and in this county of Derby, came to this family; and the other of *sir John Cokaine, knight, his son*, who was one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas, *temp.* Henri 4 to Hen. 5, *et usq.* 8 Hen. 6th." What authority Dugdale had for this statement does not appear; but he has repeated it in his *Origines Juridiciales*, p. 100, where he has given an engraving of the figure in civil costume, with the following superscription: "In ala ex parte boreali ecclesiæ paroch. de Ashburne in com. Derb. Tumuli alabastrini Johannis Cockain, primo capitalis baronis de Scaccario, deinde unius jnsticiariorum de communi Banco sub rege Henrici IIII^to^ accurata effigies." Here is an amusing example of the mode in which errors are made and perpetuated. This superscription (at least, the portion of it commencing "Tumuli alabastrini") has been copied by Nichols (in his *Leicestershire*), Pilkington, Lysons, and others, and handed down to us by them as an inscription formerly on the monument sustaining this effigy, which all concur in deciding to be that of a judge in his robes, and consequently of the aforesaid John Cokayne, chief baron of the Exchequer, and one of the justices of the Common Pleas, etc. Nichols's error is of a still more complex description. Not content with stating that "a monument is preserved in the church, with an effigy in the robes of a judge, and this inscription, "Tumuli alabastrini", etc., he appends a note to it to the following effect: "Of Bury Hatley, in the county of Bedford, which manor he purchased from sir Edward Butler, and (as Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, writes) founded a worshipful family at, and imparted his name to, Cockaine Hatley. In 1394, he was recorder of London; 13th of November 1401, chief baron of the Exchequer; and *May 14th*, 1405, *made one of the justices of Common Pleas* by king Henry IV, with whom he sided in 1403 against

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, and their adherents; *and lost his life on Saturday, the eve of Saint Mary Magdalen*, having in the morning received the honour of knighthood." Thereby assuring us that sir John Cockayne was first slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, in 1403, and afterwards made justice of the Common Pleas, on the 14th of May 1405; for it is no typographical error in the dates, such being the perfectly correct dates of the battle and the nomination. If the chief baron of the Exchequer was present at the battle of Shrewsbury, he certainly was not killed at it, as he was not only made justice of the Pleas in addition in 1405, but held the two offices together for the last eight years of the reign of Henry IV; kept his seat as justice of the Pleas on the accession of Henry V, when William Lesingby was appointed chief baron, and died in the reign of Henry VI, having retired from the bench some few years previously, as Dugdale has stated in his *Church Notes*, and Mr. Foss in his recent excellent *History of the Judges of England* proves from the official records.

Having disposed of this part of the question, I now venture to observe that the effigy is not in the robes of a judge; but, as I have before stated, in the civil costume of a knight or nobleman of the fourteenth century. Those who will take the trouble to compare it with that of sir Wm. Gascoigne, chief justice of the King's Bench (a contemporary of Justice Cockayne), in Harwood church, Yorkshire, will immediately perceive the difference between the ordinary and the official costume of that period. I am therefore inclined to believe that Dugdale himself was misled by report, founded on the fact of there having been a judge in the family, and the erroneous opinion that this effigy was habited in the robes of one, assisted by a tradition, still current, that the two effigies on this tomb were those of a father and his son, which may be true, reversing the parentage, as I shall show in my consideration of the figure No. 2 on the same plate, appropriated by Dugdale in his *Church Notes* to Edmund Cockayne, who married the heiress of Herthull. This effigy is in complete armour, and being placed side by side with the former on the same tomb, rather a remarkable circumstance, it has given

rise to another conjecture, namely, that they were two effigies of the same individual,—one representing him in his civil, and the other in his military costume. The effigy possesses some points of exceeding interest. The knight is sculptured in the pointed basinet and camail of the fourteenth century, the front of the latter being ornamented with a shield,—a feature unique, I believe, in the series of knightly effigies hitherto published. It is at present quite plain, but may originally have been painted with armorial bearings, which would have enabled us probably to identify the person. The jupon or tabard has short sleeves and is bordered with a deep fringe, the sword-belt passing underneath it. Upon it is the family coat of Cockayne, which was *argent*, three cocks, *gules*.

The brassarts, gauntlets, coudes, cuisses, jambs, and sollerets, all of plate, betoken the reign of Richard II or Henry IV, after which period the camail was gradually superseded by the hausecol of steel, and the era of complete plate may be said to have commenced. All these details are strongly in corroboration of Dugdale's assertion, that this effigy represents Edmund Cockayne of Ashburne and Pooley, the husband of Elizabeth Herthull, but who was *brother*, and not *father* of the judge, as he and others have supposed.

The pedigree of the Cockaynes in Vincent's *Derby*, No. 146, College of Arms, evidently drawn up with the greatest care, shows that John Cockayne of Ashburne, who died the 46th of Edward III, 1372, had two sons; Edmund aforesaid, living 3rd Henry IV, 1402, and John, chief baron of the Exchequer, holding the manor of Bury Hatley of sir Edward Butler, and who married Ida, sister of Reginald Lord Grey de Ruthin, 6th of Henry IV, and died in the reign of Henry VI, leaving issue by her, Reginald Cockayne of Hatley, from whom the Bedfordshire branch.[1] This rectifies the error into which Glover appears to have fallen, in whose pedigree sir John Cockayne of Ashburne, the eldest son of Edmund, is set down as the chief baron, instead of Edmund's brother and sir John's uncle, sir John Cockayne of Bury Hatley. I therefore repeat, we may consider there is some truth in that tradi-

[1] "Johes Cokayne capitulis Barō scrī tenit. manr de Bury Hatley in com. Bedford, ab Edwardo Butler militis et obyt a°.—H. 6.—Vincent's *Derby*.

E. Pretty. del. J. G. Waller. Sc.

tion which reports that these two male effigies, the aged civilian and the younger warrior, are representations of a father and his son, simply, as I have said, by reversing the parentage, and considering the former to be that of John Cockayne of Ashburne, who died in 1373, and the latter that of his eldest son, Edmund Cockayne of Ashburne and Pooley, living in 1402.

We will now proceed to the next monument in point of date,—entirely of alabaster (the other being of free-stone), and on which recline the effigies, also in alabaster, of a knight and a lady. See Pl. xl. The knight presents us with a perfect specimen of the armour of the reign of Henry V and VI. Here we perceive the absence of the military surcoat, jupon or tabard, and the appendage of the skirt of horizontal steel bands, called taces, to a breast-plate. The hausecol I have before alluded to, and a pair of plates to protect the arm-pits, called pallettes, introduced in the reign of Henry V. Round his neck is a collar of SS., that mysterious decoration, of which all we know at present is, that it has not been discovered on effigies of an earlier date than those of the reign of Henry IV. The female figure by his side also displays all the characteristics of the first half of the fifteenth century;—the sideless surcoat, with its full skirt surmounting the tightly-fitting kirtle, girdled over the hips: the mantle, with its lace and tassels, and the horned or lunated head-dress, with its reticulated covering for the hair. The male figure, the rev. Mr. Errington, Mr. Pretty, and all who have favoured me with their opinions, agree in assigning to sir John Cockayne of Ashburne, son of Edmund Cockayne and Elizabeth Herthull, who died in the 16th of Henry VI (1438), and who was the husband of Isabella, daughter of sir Hugh Shirley.[1]

According to a pedigree furnished by Mr. Maunsell, he lived at Pooley; but was buried at Ashbourne, and I think we may pretty safely consider that this effigy is properly attributed to him: but we must not confound him, as Glover's *Pedigree* would lead us to do, with his uncle, the chief-baron sir John Cockayne, of Bury Hatley, who

[1] Besides this John, Edmund had issue by his wife Elizabeth, four other sons, Robert, George, Edmund, and Thomas. What became of them?

was most probably interred in his own church at that place, where an altar-tomb, stripped of its brass plates, existed in Lysons' time, and was then stated to be that of chief-baron Cockayne (Lysons' *Bedfordshire*, p. 92). It has now perished.

The only difficulty about this monument, is made by the effigy of the lady. Isabella Shirley, wife of John Cockayne of Ashburne, is said to have been buried at Polesworth. A beautiful drawing of the effigy attributed to her, was exhibited by Mr. Pretty at the Congress, in company with those of the Ashbourne monuments; and the armorial escutcheons on the tomb itself, displaying the *quartered* arms of Cockayne and Herthull *impaling* Shirley, are, I should say, decisive as to that fact.

The question therefore arises, to whom are we to assign the effigy by sir John's side at Ashburne? Mr. Pretty is inclined to believe it represents sir John's mother, the heiress of Herthull, from the fact that the Herthull arms (*argent*, two bars, *vert*) are still visible on an escutcheon at one corner of the tomb, near the right foot of the lady: but Elizabeth Herthull married, secondly, John Francis of Ingleby, esquire; and it is therefore to be doubted whether she was buried at Ashburne. The arms of Herthull being at one corner of the monument, is not of itself a convincing fact; as not only was there probably a shield at each corner of it originally, but we know that sir John Cockayne abandoned his own coat and assumed that of his mother, which he bore simply, and not quartered with Cockayne[1] as his son John did. Therefore the shield still existing, would as much belong to the male figure as to the female, or to the latter, if the wife, as much as if she had been the

[1] That he did so, is proved by his seal, drawn by Vincent, and engraved in Bysshe's edition of Upton, etc., where we find a shield with two bars, instead of three cocks, circumscribed "Sigillum Johis Cockayn Milites", and bearing also the motto "Bone Espoyer" (Bon Espoir); the date of the deed to which it was appended being the 9th of Henry V, 1428. Previously to this, 14th of Henry IV, there is the seal of a John Cockayne with the three cocks, and evidently the same motto, but tortured by the engraver into something which has been read "En bon et poyer". A correspondent of the *Notes and Queries*, quoting this erroneous reading, says it has been explained to mean "boni est posse", or "right is might". It is, I believe, nothing of the sort; but "En bon espoir", as probably was the case in the other example, where there appears room for *en* before the two other words.—*Vide* wood-cuts of the two seals at the end of this article.

mother. Mr. Errington considers the effigy to be that of Isabella Shirley the wife, and that it is probable that there were two effigies of her; one placed where she was buried (viz., at Polesworth), and the other on the tomb of her husband at Ashburne. I confess myself at present unable to give an opinion on the subject: but I will venture to suggest that sir John Cockayne might have been twice married, and there is some appearance of this from two other pedigrees in Vincent's *Derbyshire*, apparently compiled from original deeds, in both of which the name of this sir John Cockayne's wife is said to be Margaret, the name of her family not being mentioned; and in one she is made the mother of his heir, and also of two daughters, Alice and Ellen. There is no doubt that sir John had a daughter named Alice, as the following extract from a document dated 7th of Henry V, proves her to have been given in marriage to sir R. Shirley:—"Endenture fait entre R. Shirley, chev^r. et John Cockayne, chev^r., de la marriage entre le dit R. et Alice fille du dit John" (Vincent's *Derby*, College of Arms). And his daughter "Elyn" is named in his will, dated 13 Hen. IV.—*Vide* Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 1120.

The deed on which one of the pedigrees is apparently founded, commences thus:—"Will. Chilcots p'sona eccl'iæ de Kings Newton et alii confirmant Joh. Cockayne de Ashburne militi, filio Elizabethæ, quæ fuit uxor Edmundi Cokayne ac filia et hæres Ric^d. de Herthull militis, et Margaretæ uxori" (not uxor*is*) "ejus." The reference, therefore, appears to be to Margaret, the wife of John Cockayne. The date of the above extract is "20 Sept., 4 H. 5." The date of sir John's marriage with Isabella Shirley would clear up this point.

It is also worthy of remark, that in Vincent's pedigree, Elizabeth de Herthull is said to have been the daughter of sir Richard de Herthull and *Alicia* (not Margaret) Astley; and Alicia is a family name of the Astleys, which Margaret is not. Mr. Errington observes: "There are holes for brass rivets all round the ledge of the flat marble slab on which these alabaster effigies lie"; and Pilkington, who wrote in 1770, says there was a rim of brass on the ledge of the tomb, describing it as that of a sir John Cockayne, who died in 1404; certainly a mis-

take, for his death occurred in 1438 or 39.[1] Dugdale, in his *Church Notes*, however, is quite silent on this subject. There is a rude drawing of the figures, but no names appended.

From this point all is clear. John Cockayne, son and heir of the above, married Agnes or Anna, daughter of sir Richard Vernon, and died in 1504. His effigy is to be seen in Youlgrave church; a beautiful piece of sculpture, the head of which has been unfortunately broken off.[2] His son, Thomas Cockayne, esq., married Agnes, daughter of Robert Barlow, esq., and had issue Thomas Cockayne, knighted at Tournay by Henry VIII; he married Barbara, daughter of John Fitzherbert, remembrancer to Henry VII. "Amongst some documents relating to this family," writes Mr. Maunsell, "an account of sir Thomas Cockayne is given thus:—The manor-house of Pooley, Warwickshire, was built by sir Thos. Cokaine in y^e^ 22d year of Henry VII. Sir Thomas was with king Henry VIII at the siege of Tournay and Teronne, and knighted there. Having made the park at Pooley, he was mortally wounded in a single combat with Thomas Burdett, esq., of Bramest (Bramcott), Warwickshire, and died April 4th, 28th of Henry VIII, and bequeathed his body to sepulture in Our Lady's chapel at Ashbourne in Derbyshire, where his ancestors lie interred before the shrine of St. Mordwen, under a tomb of marble." Upon this tomb of marble is a brass, engraved with the effigies of sir Thomas, in armour, and his wife in the costume of their time, with an inscription in the vilest doggrel, differing from the one which is given by Mr. Maunsell from the family document above mentioned, and which has been printed by Dugdale in his *Warwickshire*.

Mr. Pretty observes: "It is stated in Mr. Maunsell's paper, that sir Thomas Cockayne was mortally wounded by Thomas Burdett, esq., of Bramcott, Warwickshire, in single combat. The quarrel took place relative to family matters, when on their road to Polesworth church, about

[1] "John Cokayne de Ashburne miles ob. die Sab^ti^ in Septimana Pentecosti 17 H. 6."—Vincent's *Derby*, Coll. of Arms, No. 146. It does not appear that any *John* Cockayne died in 1404.

[2] He had a younger brother named William, from whom sir Wm. Cockayne, alderman, *temp.* James I, whose effigy is in the crypt of St. Paul's, London, and who was father of Charles, viscount Cullen.—Dugdale's *Warwickshire*.

midway. Sir Thomas's foot slipping, owing to a depression in the ground, threw him off his guard. In the course of the foot-path between Pooley Hall and the village, just such a place occurs, the ground sinking at a turn of the road"; and he adds, "a yew-tree is seen, which probably marks the spot where sir Thomas met his death." The next tomb is that of Francis Cockaine, esq., and Dorothea, daughter of Thomas Marron, sergeant-at-law, and outside the monumental chapel; but inside, till 1840, a large monument of sir Thomas Cokayne, obiit 1592, and Dorothea, daughter of sir Humphrey Ferrers, knight.

In concluding this account of the sepulchral memorials of the Cockayne family at Ashbourne, I must express a hope that local antiquaries and gentlemen descending from this ancient stock will favour me with any information they possess, or may acquire on the subject, which I shall not abandon while there is any hope of arriving at positive evidence. The effigies at Ashbourne have, as Mr. Pretty has justly remarked, an additional interest as works of art. They show the existence of a high school of sculpture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and tend to confirm the opinion entertained by so many antiquaries, that these monumental effigies really preserve to us the features as well as the costume of the noble dead.

NOTICES OF SOME ENCAUSTIC TILES FOUND IN DERBYSHIRE, ETC.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, ESQ.

The accompanying plates, which I have the gratification of presenting to the Association, contain a remarkably fine series of encaustic paving tiles, selected from examples exhibited in the temporary museum of the congress of the Association at Derby, and from others dug up in the excavations made during the congress by sir Oswald Mosley and the rev. Dr. Peile, as well as from others noticed during some of the excursions. Some of the examples, now engraved, are of considerable beauty, and of novel design; and it will be seen, that the series comprises specimens ranging from early in the thirteenth, to late in the sixteenth centuries;—most of the quarries being highly characteristic of the prevailing devices of the periods to which they belong.

As I have, on former occasions (vol. ii, p. 261, and vol. iv, p. 216), given illustrations of tile paving, with notices of the prevailing patterns of the various periods in which they were in use, and of the processes of manufacture employed in their production, I shall at present merely describe the tiles shown in the accompanying plates, and some few others which are deserving of notice.

In plate XLI, the first five patterns were dug up at Repton in the course of the excavations on the site of the priory, kindly undertaken and carried on by the rev. Dr. Peile for the congress of the Association; the first three being engraved from fragments presented to me by the doctor, and the other from two drawings made for me by his son Mr. J. B. Peile. Fig. 1 is one of a four-tile pattern, of the thirteenth century, forming a beaded quatrefoil, of elegant design, with graceful foliage and birds; the same pattern occurs at Bakewell, and will be seen on plate XLII, fig. 9, where the whole quatrefoil is shown. Fig. 2, of the same period, is peculiarly elegant and graceful in design, and must have had a rich and gorgeous effect

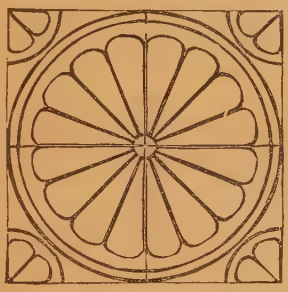
Presented by Llewellynn Jewitt.

ENCAUSTIC TILES.

Presented by Llewellynn Jewitt.

ENCAUSTIC TILES. BAKEWELL CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.

when placed in the pavement, either as a separate set of four, or when arranged for covering a larger space. Fig. 3 would form, when placed together, a simple but effective pattern, consisting of lozenges and octfoil flowers; tiles of a somewhat similar pattern occur at St. Alban's and other places, and produce an admirable effect when intermixed with more elaborate ornamentation. Figs. 4 and 5 are single quarries, of early in the thirteenth century, and are admirable examples of the designs of that period. Besides these, some fragments of tiles of an early period, but of a different character, were found at Repton, one of which, here shown, is peculiarly interesting; it is of a dark blue colour, the *lines* forming the pattern being simply indented into the surface, and not filled in. *Incised* tiles (if I may venture so to call them) of this character, are of rare occurrence; but some further examples from Bakewell will be shortly described. The judicious mixture of plain black or dark blue quarries with the tiles of the usual style of ornamentation, is productive of the most rich and gorgeous effect in the building which they are intended to adorn; but this is a point of artistic appearance to which, unfortunately, sufficient attention has not been paid in the arrangement of modern floorings: this may, in some measure, have arisen from the paucity of examples of ancient pavements remaining *in situ* at the present day, and from the rare occurrence of even detached fragments of such tiles as those I am now describing from Repton and Bakewell, and they are, therefore, especially valuable as authorities for future guidance, and as data from which the mediæval principles of design may, in some measure, be worked out. Fig. 6, from Dale Abbey, near Derby, was exhibited in the temporary museum of the congress by J. J. Briggs, esq.; it is of small size, being only two inches square, and bears an elegant fleur-de-lis within a border. A similar tile was also exhibited by Mr. Jessop.



Figs. 7, 10, and 11 are drawn from tiles kindly furnished to me by our valued president, sir Oswald Mosley, bart., by whom they were found in the course of excavations

carried on by him during the congress of the Association, at Tutbury. Fig. 7, charged with a shield bearing the arms of Arderne, *ermine*, a fesse checquy, is apparently of late in the sixteenth century; of this tile, sir Oswald found two examples; one with the device simply impressed into the quarry, without filling in, and the other with the indented portions filled with so thin a layer of white clay, as still to leave the red in relief. The process apparently observed in the making of this tile was somewhat different from that usually adopted; for, in this instance, the clay appears to have been impressed with the mould, its whole surface then washed over with a thin coating of white, and, afterwards, the raised parts slightly rubbed down so as to exhibit the pattern in red clay. Figs. 10 and 11 are four-tile patterns of bold and effective design: of fig. 10, two specimens were found; and they are valuable as showing the kind of mould used in their manufacture—the grain of the wood (elm) being distinctly impressed in the clay. It may be well to remark, that one of these tiles has been impressed with a broken mould, the other with a perfect one. Fig. 8, bearing the arms of Beauchamp, *gules*, a fesse between six crosses crosslet, *or*, placed diagonally so as to form, when arranged in fours, an elegant heraldic quatrefoil, was exhibited in the temporary museum by Mr. F. J. Jessopp. Fig. 9, charged with a bold and elegant fleur-de-lis, of the thirteenth century, is from Swepstone, near Ashby-de-la-Zouch; this tile, and others of a similar pattern to those shown on plate II, vol. iv, fig. 7, from Worcester cathedral, were exhibited in the temporary museum, and presented to me by our valuable associate, Mr. H. J. Stevens, of Derby. Figs. 12, 16, and 19 were exhibited by Mr. Jessopp; fig. 16, with a grotesque figure within a border of foliage, appears to be of the fourteenth century, as is also fig. 12; fig. 19, a four-tile pattern, with interlaced circles, is of good character, and is an excellent specimen of the geometrical designs of the thirteenth century.

For figs. 13 and 14 I am indebted to our indefatigable associate Mr. Thomas Bateman, of Youlgrave, in whose museum they are now preserved; they were dug up in 1820, during the repairs then being made at Wirksworth church, along with an elegant foliated quarry, forming

part of a sixteen-tile pattern; figure 13 bears the royal arms, Wirksworth being a part of the duchy of Lancaster. Figs. 15 and 17, from the abbey at Burton-on-Trent, were exhibited in the temporary museum by R. Thornewell, esq.; they are of the early part of the fourteenth century, and are extremely curious; the cross pattée on 15 being of very rare occurrence: and the figure of a piper dancing and playing on his pipe, accompanied by a tumbler, on fig. 17, is quite novel in its design. Fig. 18, from a fragment which I picked up in the excavations at Tutbury, is a remarkably interesting example, exhibiting as it does the nave of a wheel, one of the badges of the Stafford family. Fig. 20, from Duffield church, is one of a large number contributed by myself to the temporary museum.

Plate XLII is confined entirely to tiles found under the floor during the process of restoration at Bakewell church, many of which are of extreme beauty, and of elaborate design. Fig. 1 is a series of border tiles, of unique pattern, of the thirteenth century, consisting alternately of beaded circles, and birds and foliage. Of these curious tiles, examples are preserved, with others, in the church porch, and one is in the possession of Mr. Bateman. Of this period, birds and foliage intermixed are highly characteristic ornaments, and one border tile is given in vol. iv, plate II, fig. 8, from Worcester; but the Bakewell border is of a much more elegant character than the other examples mentioned. Fig. 2 is three-fourths of one of the most elegant and elaborate sixteen-tile patterns that has ever been discovered: of this pattern, only two tiles out of the sixteen have been found; but from these I have been enabled to draw the whole pattern, with the exception of the corner, and must trust to future discoveries to complete that portion of the design. Fig. 4 is a magnificent pattern, composed of four tiles, each bearing a lion's head, and forming, when placed together, a quatrefoil of good and effective design; the angles are filled in with trefoils, and the lion's tongues, which are extended, form a cross in the centre. Fig. 3 is a four-tile pattern of Gothic tracery, of great beauty, formed of trefoils, with quatrefoils in the angles. This pattern, and the two preceding ones, I believe to be unique. Fig. 5 has an elegant fleur-de-lis,

placed diagonally.[1] Fig. 6 bears the arms of Foljambe, *sable*, a bend between three escallops, *or;* and fig. 7, the arms of Breton, *argent*, a chevron, between three escallops, *gules;* the family of the Bretons were settled at Walton, near Chesterfield, for several generations; but the male branch became extinct in the early part of the fourteenth century, when the heiress married sir John Loudham; the co-heiress of whom, by marriage about 1392, brought the estates in moieties to the Foljambes and the Beckerings: the Foljambes eventually became possessed of the whole of the estates of the Bretons and Loudhams. In the church of Bakewell, is a fine monument of sir Godfrey Foljambe. Fig. 8 is restored from a fragment bearing two dragons, cc batant, placed diagonally on the tile. Fig. 9 exhibits a four-tile pattern, of elegant design, with an elaborately foliated quatrefoil extending over its whole surface; the angles being filled with gracefully thrown foliage and birds; fragments of similar tiles were found at Repton (plate XLI, fig. 1). Fig. 10 is also a set of four, with a quatrefoil extending over the whole surface; it is of a much more simple and bold design than the last, and is very effective.

Besides the tiles exhibited on plate XLII, several others of equal interest occur at Bakewell; these are of the kind described in the beginning of the paper as having been found at Repton; they are of a dark blue colour, and

Fig. 1.

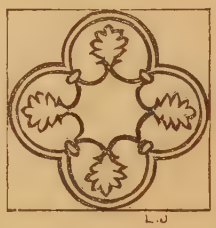
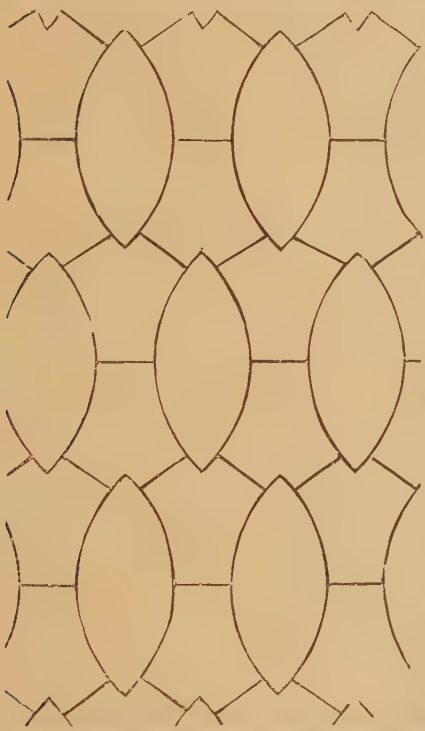


Fig. 2.

have the lines of the pattern simply indented upon the surface. One of these is of a singular pattern, and forms, when placed together in fours, an elegant foliated cross within

[1] The fleur-de-lis, although not an unusual device on paving tiles, may in this particular instance have been used in reference to the Foljambe family, sir Godfrey Foljambe having married the daughter of Darley, who bore *gules*, six fleurs de lis, *argent*.

a quatrefoil; four of these, showing the connected design, are here shown (fig. 1). Another pattern has a quatrefoil and leaves, as shown in the diagram (fig. 2), and is a very characteristic and good design for a plain quarry. One of the most interesting and curious tiles which the Bakewell series presents, is of the shape here shown; it is three inches and a half in length on the curved edges, and one inch and three-quarters in breadth at the lower end, and has the pattern lines indented. This curious and unique tile has most probably been used, when placed together, for the purpose of forming the elegant geometric pavement, shown in the accompanying diagram: the intervening spaces of the *vesica* form having most likely been filled in with tiles bearing the sacred emblem of the fish; the same tiles may have also been used for forming a border of an arcade pattern. In the annexed diagram the indented pattern of flowers within circles is not shown.



The Bakewell series of tiles is perhaps the most interesting and useful, both in point of design and variety, that has been discovered; and will form a valuable addition to the extensive collection of authorities which we already possess. The tiles themselves, for the most part, are now preserved in the porch of the church, where they have been placed by the direction of our talented associate Mr. F. Barker, to whom I am greatly indebted for the tracings from which the engravings are made.

One of the most curious tiles exhibited in the temporary museum of the Derby congress was from Repton, bearing the alphabet in Lombardic characters. An engraving of this will be given with others in a future number.

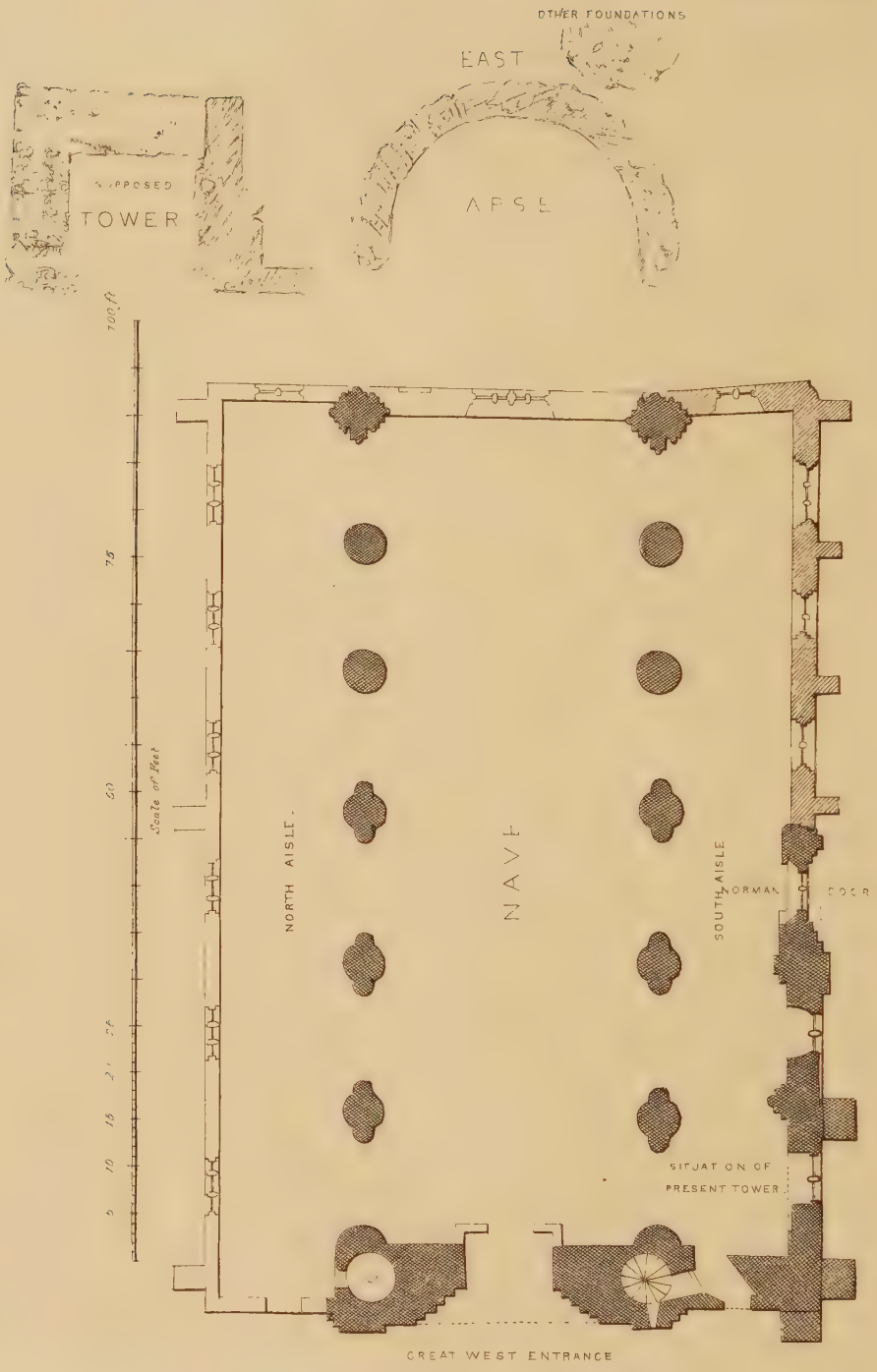
PRIORY CHURCH, TUTBURY.

BY CHARLES BAILY, F.S.A. HON. SEC.

The remains of the church of Tutbury priory present us with a grand specimen of Norman architecture; and the example is the more valuable because we are acquainted with the period of its erection, within a very few years. From the foundation charter we learn that Henry de Ferrers, who came over with William the conqueror, the ancestor of the ancient earls of Derby, endowed Tutbury priory in the reign of William Rufus, and therein speaks of the priory church as being then built by him.

The following is a translation of the charter:—

"In the name of the sacred and undivided Trinity, I, Henry de Ferrers, have founded a church in honour of holy Mary, the mother of God, near to my castle of Tutbury, for the soul of king William and queen Matilda, and for the health of my father and my mother, and my wife Berta, and my sons Eugenulph, William, and Robert, and my daughters, and all my ancestors and friends. And for the use of this church, and of the monks serving God there, I have given a town which is called Marston, except eleven oxgangs of land, and the fourth part of the meadows; and my wife Berta has given a town which is called Doveridge, with all customs, and with my free will. We have also given a town which is called Little Broughton, which adjoins Doveridge aforesaid, with all customs which I hitherto have had in the same three towns. And, further, we have endowed it with the parish of my castle, and the tithe of my revenue (tolonei) from the same castle, and the tithe of my wine, and of all my hunting, and my pannage, and in my wood timber for fuel and building as much as they want. And in my water free fishery, and the tithe of my honey, as also the tithes of my demesne of Tutbury, Scropton, Rolleston, Barton, Saperton, Moginton, Overton, with one villain, and Pyry with one villain; the tithe also of Stapleford with one villain; the tithe also of Carston with one villain; and of Scropton with one villain; except the third part, which is annexed to the churches of the same towns; the tithe also of Duffield with one villain, except the third part, reserved for the church; and the church of Matherfield (Mayfield), with the tithe and whatever belongs to the church, with one free-man (homine); and of Norbury in the same manner, and the tithe of Brassington and



TUTBURY PRIORY CHURCH.

GROUND PLAN

Tissington. Nevertheless, I give this church, and whatever I have either already contributed thereto, or shall hereafter wish to contribute, to my church at Tutbury, and to my monks serving God there, by the concession and authority of William the younger, king of the English, as it has been ordained at Malborough before the aforesaid king William."

We may, therefore, fairly consider that this church was begun, and probably finished, between the years 1087 and 1100. A great portion of the original building remains in the present church. The accompanying ground plan (see plate XLIII) shows the church in its present state; the original parts remaining are distinguished by the dark tint, and consist of the whole of the west wall, including the grand western doorway, the south wall of the three westernmost bays of the south aisle, the columns and arches separating the nave from the aisles, and also the piers and arches on the second story above the main arches, on the north and south sides of the nave. In the centre of the western wall, over the large doorway, may also be observed the jambs of a very fine western window. All these parts may be considered as belonging to the church as built by Henry de Ferrers. The other parts of the south aisle, namely, the east wall, and the south wall of the three most eastern bays, were probably rebuilt some time during the reign of Henry V. The east wall of the nave, and the walls of the north aisle, are entirely modern; but the north wall appears to stand on the Norman foundations.

The first impression upon a stranger when viewing Tutbury church is, that it is the remains of a large cruciform church, the transepts and chancel of which were to the east of the present building, and, indeed, it has generally been considered as such; but by the liberality of our president, sir Oswald Mosley, bart., this question has been set at rest, the excavations which he has made in the land adjoining to the church on the east having laid bare the foundations of the Norman apsidal termination of the east end of the original church, as depicted on the plan, by a reference to which it will be seen, that the church when perfect was only 32 feet longer than at present; but there originally existed one more arch on each side, between the nave and aisles; this is proved by the clustered pillars at the east end being isolated, the abaci of which are to be

seen on the outside of the present east wall, and also by there being no foundations found between these columns and the semicircular apse. Not the least appearance of foundations of transepts were found; but at the east of the north aisle massive walls of a square building, which perhaps were the foundations of a tower, were discovered.

The original plan of the church may be therefore pretty correctly made out, and was very simple, being only a nave of seven bays in length, with aisles, the former having a semicircular east end, and the latter most likely terminating eastward by towers. This form of plan, although not very common in England, often occurs on the continent, and particularly in the north of Germany.

The priory buildings are supposed to have stood to the north-east of the church; the extent of ground covered by these exceeded three acres. No vestige aboveground escaped destruction by the possessors of the priory at the dissolution; but foundations may be traced in the inequality of the surface of the land. Sir Oswald Mosley has not extended his excavations to this part, but on the north and south trenches were dug, but no discoveries made.

The architecture of the church is very interesting and beautiful, and in some respects peculiar; the triple form of the pillars of the three western bays is perhaps unique, at all events I have not met with a similar example elsewhere. The great west doorway is one of the grandest specimens to be found of its date in this country: all the skill of the builder seems to have been expended upon it. It is difficult to describe the arrangement, variety, and beauty of its sculptured decorations. The inner rim consists of the common zigzag moulding, which passes up the sides and over the centre. The next rim is of alabaster, and, what is somewhat singular, is in better preservation than several of the others, which are formed of stone. This rim is supported by columns, and the devices upon it are griffons' and birds' beaks, curiously twisted in groups of three together, with a flat member above them, on which is a lion couchant, extending over each group of beaked heads. The third rim from the opening is decorated with tigers' heads in pairs, with leaflet scrolls issuing out of their mouths, and a lion couchant over each pair; this rim is also supported by columns. The fourth rim is divided

into two parallel mouldings, the innermost of which is of the zigzag pattern, and the other leaflet scrolls. The fifth rim is also divided into two parallel mouldings, the one plainly fluted, and the other studded with roses at intervals; both these last-mentioned rims also rest upon the capitals of columns. The sixth rim, which also rests upon columns, again exhibits the zigzag pattern with plainer leaflets above, and the outermost rim, which has no columns, but rests upon a projecting string-course, is decorated with animals twisted in circular compartments. The capitals of each column are variously ornamented with grotesque figures of animals and men, and a larger representation of a lion couchant is placed on each side of the outer capitals, under the projecting string-course.

The dimensions of this doorway are as follow:—

Height of the opening to the centre of the inner arch, 14 feet; clear width of the opening, 9 ft. 6 in.; breadth of inner rim of the arch, 1 ft. 1 in.; breadth of the next four rims each 11 inches; the sixth rim in breadth 1 ft. 1 in.; and the outermost rim 8 inches in breadth,—this projects 6½ in. from the face of the perpendicular wall; the height of each column, including base and capital, is 9 ft. 2 in.; and the whole arch recedes from the face of the wall 3 ft. 10 in.

The columns of the beautiful doorway were a few years ago buried in the earth, which has been removed at the instigation of sir Oswald Mosley.

The upper part of the western front, which was, perhaps, the last portion erected, presents us with a good example of the Norman semicircular arches intersecting each other, and this feature is also to be seen from the interior of the church, giving the most natural idea of the origin of the first style of pointed architecture.

It has already been stated, that the three western bays of the south aisle are of Norman date, the most eastern of these once formed a side entrance into the church, the columns and arch of this doorway (now glazed as a window) still remain tolerably perfect, but the stone tympanum over the square head of the doorway has been removed, and placed in the south wall under the present tower; upon it is a curious rude carving, now much decayed and almost obliterated, representing a wild boar hunt; a man

upon horseback is attacking the huge monster with a spear, whilst one of his dogs has seized hold of the snout, and another of the leg of the animal. This curious work, probably, represents some legend once popular in the neighbourhood.[1]

The present tower, judging from the section of the rude arch, which has been built on the old Norman work to support the east wall, appears to have been built about the middle of the fourteenth century, say about 1350, but there is nothing very remarkable in the architecture.

The range of arches on the second story on the north and south sides of the nave, which are now glazed as windows, formerly formed the triforium of the church, and served to light the space between the stone vaulting, by which the aisles were most likely covered, and the wooden roofs over the same; and above this triforium there was, perhaps, on each side, a range of clerestory windows, to light the upper part of the nave, this appears to be evident from the height of the shaft which runs up the two large eastern columns on the sides next the nave, and which may have carried an arch forming the division between the nave and chancel.

It is somewhat difficult to say by what sort of roof the nave was covered, but the naves, or centre aisles of Norman churches, were seldom vaulted, they were generally covered by highly pitched timber roofs, with the actual framed timbers left to view from the body of the church, sometimes plain and sometimes ornamented,[2] but, perhaps, more often the Norman naves were finished within with flat boarded ceilings, as we see remaining to this day at Peterborough cathedral; and there appears to be a provision made at Tutbury for supporting the upright timber posts, against the side walls, to carry the roof and ceiling of the nave; the chancels, however, particularly when

[1] The subjects carved within the arches of Norman doorways are very interesting to the antiquary: these sometimes relate to scripture, and sometimes to local legends. The Council would be happy to receive drawings and descriptions from the provincial Members, of any which may exist in their immediate neighbourhood.

[2] The chancel roof at Old Shoreham church, Sussex, is framed with a king post and tie beam; in the latter is the toothed ornament; and the same ornament occurs in the roof of the porch of Chenington church, Suffolk; and in the roof over the north transept of Lindfield church, Sussex. In the church of Graville, near Havre, the wall plates of the nave are still distinctly marked with the hatched moulding.

terminated by the semicircular apse, were generally vaulted, and this was probably the case at Tutbury.

William earl Ferrers caused the body of his ancestor, Henry de Ferrers, the founder of the priory, to be removed into the church, and deposited on the right hand of the high altar, and a tomb, with recumbent figure, to be erected to him. During the excavations by sir Oswald Mosley, several broken pieces of alabaster were discovered immediately on the site of the high altar, these were considered to have been parts of the altar or of the tomb; several fragments of coloured glass were also found, some having patterns painted thereon; the following report on these is from Mr. Sheldon, of the glass works at Tutbury—

"No. 1. Specimen of glass of very inferior quality, evidently *blown* and made by hand (not moulded), as the welt or ridge clearly shows, and agrees with the present mode of manufacture. It was, most probably, a part of a vessel used in the services of the church.

"Nos. 2 and 3. Supposed to be window glass; upon examination there will be found a metallic-looking mixture in the glass, which may have been brass dust, used in the making to give it a green colour, the same material being used in making common green now. The semi-opaqueness observable inclines us to the opinion of this specimen having been made at a remote period; the impurities not having been purged out by fluxes as now used—such as pearl-ash, salt-petre, etc.

"Nos. 4, 5, and 6. Similar specimens to Nos. 2 and 3, but the colouring and quality superior, which may be accounted for by the difference in the various materials employed for that purpose.

"Nos. 7 and 8. Apparently window glass varnished, most probably to give the shadows in painted windows; upon a close examination it will be seen that the varnish has been laid on while the glass was in a liquid state and hot; while the indentation of the glass, answering to each piece of varnish removed, could not be produced but when in the state before mentioned.

"No. 9. Glass also used in windows and supposed to have been silvered upon the surface: there will be found a very manifest difference in the quality of this specimen and any of the former ones; being a nearer approximation to the present crown-glass.

"No. 10. Apparently part of a cup or dish, which also appears to have been silvered. This specimen, like No. 1, was evidently formed by hand, and not moulded; the bubbles inside would arise either from the inexperience of the workman, or from the glass not having had a sufficient heat thoroughly to fine it.

"No. 11. Glass of various colours pounded and mixed with a similar

varnish to that laid on Nos. 7 and 8. It may either have been used in the windows or as an ornament on the tops or sides of monuments. There are evident traces of its having been painted, though in a rude style.

"The foregoing are mere suppositions, as it would be impossible to come to any certainty without making a separate analysis of the various pieces."

A few years since, it will be recollected that a large quantity of coins were found in the river at Tutbury. Some of these were exhibited at the Congress, and it may be interesting to the antiquary to know that they consisted of—

Pennies of Edward I and II, of the mints of London, York, Durham, Canterbury, Bristol, St. Edmundsbury, and Dublin.

Pennies of Alexander III, of Scotland.

Counterfeit sterlings, struck in imitation of the English penny, by various towns of Flanders.

Thus offering the usual *mélange* whenever the pennies of the early Edwards are discovered.

The time which the members of the Association were able to devote to the examination of the church at Tutbury, was necessarily short; but it is to be hoped that the foregoing notes, although scanty, may induce some of the local members to favour the Association with more ample particulars relating to this very interesting building.

ON THE COINS OF CUNOBELINE AND OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

PART XIII.

BY BEALE POSTE.

RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE BRITISH SERIES. COINS OF ADMINIUS, TOGODUMNUS, EPPILLUS, ETC.

WITHIN the three or four preceding years, several new types have been acquired by the British Museum, from colonel Durrant's sale, from that of lord Holmesdale, and from other sources. Some of these are not perhaps exactly new discoveries, but such as have been latent in modern times, though engraved by the early numismatists; however, all of them show the much greater extent and nationality of the ancient British coinage than several writers who have treated of the subject appear disposed to allow. These various accessions we shall now proceed to consider, with one or two added to them.

In the present case, those types which are strictly new discoveries, seem in no wise to contravene the opinion which we may form, that all the better executed specimens of the British coinage belong to the family of Cunobeline, or otherwise to the Iceni; while the ruder inscribed moneys are either those of the Brigantes, or are provincial coins, such as the types inscribed CATTI, BODVOC, etc., struck immediately preceding the Roman conquest by the states which had been component parts of the former Cunobeline territories, and who reassumed the ancient Celtic type. The uninscribed part of the British coinage, it will be remembered, is distinct of itself, and is not alluded to in the above remarks, but comes under a different category, and has indeed its own proper characteristics. We may, however, now continue with the types which form our present subject.

I. In gold. A horse, unmounted, galloping to the left: above it, a bull's head: below it, a wheel. Reverse, a fillet in a curved line, crossed by a band, on which are apparently two large buckles, in a lunar shape, with, between each of the intersections, the letters separately, A, N, D, O.

Weight, 21½ gr.

This coin, if genuine, is extremely difficult of explanation, as no known ancient British local or personal name has any resemblance to its legend;* the only approximation to it, the ANDOCO of Stukeley, or more properly ANDECO, which he considered British (see his *Plates* IV, 7), being now long since proved to belong to the Andecavi, one of the states of Gaul. (See *Mionnet*, and Lelewel's *Type Gaulois*, iii, 45.) If genuine, however, this type must have been connected with the state of the Cassii, as another coin in Stukeley, inscribed VERV, *i.e.*, Verulam, has precisely the same reverse. See his *Plates*, iv, 2.

It is now nearly ninety years ago that Dr. Pegge asserted "that no coins of Togodumnus, Caractacus, Adminius, or of other British princes, had ever been found, but only coins of Cunobeline." (See his *Coins of Cunobeline*, pp. 20 and 56.) This opinion passed as orthodox with Ruding, and, till quite lately, has been regarded in that light by those who have treated of the subject. If this illusion has not been already sufficiently dispelled, a coin or two which will now come under our notice will go far towards eradicating the remains of it.

II. In gold. A type similar to the one to which the reading VODII has been given at the preceding page 122, but here it reads AE, followed by vestiges of other letters, not legible. The E is somewhat in the shape of the capital letter O, narrow at the bottom, and with a bar across it, and is one of the forms of the E reversed, which, according to Bouteroue, occur on Gaulish coins. (See his *Recherches curieuses des Monoyes de France*, fol. 1666, p. 157.)

Respecting the type at page 122, of the legend of which we here give a fac-simile, we have to correct a very considerable misreading in the description given of it at that page. Subsequent examinations show the commencing character to be an A, and not a V, which, as in the instance of the letter on the preceding coin, happens to be of somewhat un-

* A coin inscribed ANDO is stated to have been found at Ecton, Northamptonshire, in Mr. Hawkins' *Silver Coins*, 8vo., 1841, p. 11, but whether the same coin as the above does not appear, nor is the fact of its finding in any way authenticated.

usual form. It is, in fact, one of those forms of the A sometimes used by the Celts, in which the usual bar of the letter is nearly at right angles with the first stroke. This letter, which, besides, does not stand quite clear out from the rim of the coin, may also be found represented by Bouteroue in the place before quoted. The second letter of the legend, an E, is of the form of the E of the preceding coin, but here there are but faint traces of the bar across the centre. The third letter is a D, followed apparently by two I's. This reading will produce the word AEDII.

Whatever the conclusion of the word may have been, there is but little doubt that we have in this word the Celtic proper name Aedd or Aeddan, which is of so frequent occurrence, and is connected both with their earlier traditions and later history. By this coin, we have the first authentic intimation of the real Celtic form of the name of Cunobeline's son Adminius, the one who fled to the Roman emperor, which before seemed so un-British. We can now ascertain, with tolerable certainty, from the three first letters thus obtained, that he was called Aedd or Aeddan, to which it is clear, from its Latin dress, "Adminius", that there was a termination, addition, or second name united to it, which most of those who bore the appellation Aedd appear to have had. For instance, the mystical Aedd, one of the traditional progenitors of the British regal line (see Roberts' *Early History of the Britons*, 8vo. 1803, pp. 55 and 61, and *Triads*, 1, 3, etc.), was styled Aedd Mawr; and we have Aedenawg a chieftain, and Aeddan Voeddog a saint of the sixth century. (See Owen's *Cambrian Biography*, and Williams' *Eminent Welchmen.*) The appellation then, Adminius, of history, is to be regarded as the latin form of the ancient British name Aedd, with the Celtic addition Menw. His name, as we now have full and entire reason to suppose, was Aedd Menw; and it is somewhat singular, as well as a considerable corroboration, that we have the name of a Briton of the fifth century with this precise combination, though with a transposition of the two parts; that is, the name Menwaed (Menw Aedd), mentioned in the twenty-ninth *Triad.*

The coins, however, which have been designated as having the legend AΘORI or ATHORI (see the *Journal* for

1847, vol. iii, page 226), and of which representations may be found in the plate there, page 201, and in the *Numismatic Journal*, plate II, British coins, fig. 3, *Ruding*, third edition, plate A, Supplement fig. 89, and *Revue Numismatique*, vol. iv, plate XIII, fig. 7, have a connexion with the foregoing two types, and produce considerable extension of our subject, as well as a concentration of evidence to one point. This reading, with the greater illustration we now possess, must be abandoned, as, though the letters are even more under disguise than those of the legend AEDII, yet, on close examination, many of them will be found the same, and the whole legend to apply to the same person. Besides, one of the types hitherto read ATHORI in the British Museum collection, has the peculiar reverse which may be seen at the preceding page 122, of the coins reading AEDII. To come, however, to the statistics of the lettering. What has been read as a theta or TH in ATHORI, is but an E intended for the same form as that in AEDII, whilst the letter taken for an O is a somewhat ill-formed D reversed. The RI is conjectural from the British Museum specimen, and may merely be regarded as the nearest attainable representation of the last syllable; this view but little varying from that of Lelewel in his *Type Gaulois*, p. 402, who seems inclined to read these letters RI or KI. If the true reading be RI, it would necessarily be a part of the Celtic title rix; and the whole name would be AEDRI(X), perhaps in full AED(O)RI(X), after the form of Ambiorix and Dumnorix, and implying "Aedd the king".

There is thus produced an addition to these legends from a coin known before, but misread. In the present case, it is one which, as in the preceding instance, directly applies to the illustration of the coinage of our ancient British kings. The cause of the former erroneous reading is mainly attributable to the extremely deceptive form of the E in the first part of the word; which, besides, is rather of rare occurrence.

There is one peculiarity, that all these three coins, reading AED, etc., are imperfect at the end. There is nothing certain in them beyond their three first letters, AED. A coin, however, in the collection of J. D. Cuff, esq., of the last type described, appears to read, for a con-

tinuation of, and termination to the whole inscription—the Celtic word OAA or OLL. (See it engraved, vol. iii, p. 201, fig. 2, as also in the *Numismatic Journal*, plate II, British coins, fig. 4, and in *Ruding*, plate A, Supplement, fig. 90.) There seems no cause to distrust the correctness of the reading; and if this be the case, there is little doubt but that the word RIX stood before this said termination, and that the sense intended was "sole king", which the Celtic words imply. Add to this, that if the name AED formed part of the legend of this type, which as yet has never been found wanting on any of the other inscribed specimens, the whole context would of course have been "Aedd sole king".

This unusual adjunct to the legend was no doubt significant. It could not imply that Adminius was king of all Britain, for his father, though a potent insular king, had only the domination of somewhat more than the third part of the whole country south of Caledonia, his territories being south of the Iceni, and Adminius, as far as our authorities go, could only have succeeded to one of his states, the Trinobantes, comprising Essex and Middlesex; but we may interpret that RIX OLL, or sole king, as on this type, meant independent king; and that Adminius now having raised the British standard, intended to say that he would pay no tribute, and owed no fealty to the Roman empire.

It is remarkable that the ancient British chronicles record that the British king Gwydyr, son of Cunobeline, did refuse about this time to pay tribute, and so far rendered himself independent. The *Chronicle of Tysilio*, Roberts' edition, 4to., 1811, p. 83, says, "Gwydyr succeeded his father in the sovereignty, and as soon as he found himself established firmly in it, he withheld the tribute from the Romans." And Geoffrey of Monmouth says, in his *History*, iv, 12, much to the same effect. So far, the chronicles appear to go along with numismatic research; but there is one particular, however, different, that they apply what they say to Togodumnus, or Gwydyr, as they call him, whereas our coin refers to Adminius.

Thus we assign this remarkable type; but it may be thought, in reference to the appropriation of these several coins, that the manner in which the first part of the name Adminius is expressed in these legends, exhibiting

the D, does not correspond with AMMINVS, the supposed name of this prince on a former coin (see *Journal*, vol. iii, page 234). Regarding this latter coin, notwithstanding this discrepancy, it seems most judicious still to view it as one of the types of the same Adminius, and for this reason. We may observe, that this said piece of money has DVN on the reverse, which intimates that he was then prince of the Dumnonii, or Dunmonii as they are otherwise called, a dignity which, it may be inferred, the kings of the Trinobantes and Cassii, who held that part of the country, were accustomed to bestow on their sons (see Roberts' *Chronicle of Tysilio*, page 73). AMMINVS then appears to be an earlier and more complete latinization of the name Aedd Menw, made in the height of the British connexion with Rome, when the Britons, in the days of Cunobeline, Romanized so extensively; whereas the only mention which we have of this prince in history is when they appear to have thrown off Roman forms and to have returned to those of the Celts. Of this, our coins are a proof. It is true that Orosius, in his *History*, gives his name as Minocunobelinus, *i.e.*, Μινος Κυνοβελινου, or Minos Cunobeline's son, leaving out entirely the prefix Aedd, in all its parts; it is true also that John of Salisbury, a writer of the twelfth century, in his *Policraticon*, viii, 13, calls this same person simply Belinus;[1] but it seems best not to lay any stress on the variations of these authors, from whatever causes they may have originated.

III. In gold: a type filling up and completing the legend of a coin engraved long since in the *Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, British coins, plate II, 7, and *Ruding*, third edition, 1840, plate A, Supplement, fig. 93; the present coin is as follows:—

Obverse, which is borrowed from one of the types of Augustus, a horse, unmounted, galloping to the left; below it, a branch and two circles; above it, a circle, with the middle portion of a legend, BNOVELL; the preceding and concluding letters being obliterated; and as the beforementioned type in the *Numismatic Journal* had given the concluding part

[1] His words are, in quoting the well known passage in Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*, c. 44, "Nisi quod Belinum Britannorum regis filium quem pater expulerat," etc.

LLAVN. no doubt remains that the whole legend was (DV)BNOVELLAVN(OS); and this reading also completes the legend of another coin, as will presently be noticed. Reverse; two half moons on an unknown moulded object, between two pellets or circlets. Weight, 84½ grains, and found at Walton-on-the-Naze, in Essex.

The third coin, illustrated by this new type, is the one first engraved in the *Journal* of the Association for 1848, vol. iv, page 91, fig. 9, from a specimen in the British Museum presenting an imperfect legend then read as Durnavnos or Dubnavnos, but now shewn to assimilate to the latter in its first syllable, and to have the longer form of Dubnovellaunos. We may accordingly proceed to consider the import of the name, and to make some research towards ascertaining who this person was. We may first, however, premise, that Taylor Combe, in his *Nummi Populorum et Urbium*, 4to, 1814, plate 1, 8, engraved a coin with the legend DVBNO, which, though not adopted by *Ruding*, probably belongs to the same person. To continue.

The import of the name seems, in the present instance, a fair subject for inquiry, as there is no doubt that it is titular, and was not the personal name of the British chieftain who bore it; and as there is reason to believe that those in power among the Celts were accustomed the more usually to be addressed and known by their titles; thus, according to the practice of his countrymen, this chief, bearing the title of DVBNOVELLAVNOS, *i.e.* "Patron of the Dobuni", may have thought it most appropriate to inscribe it on his coins rather than his private designation.

To illustrate the nature of this name, it has been pointed out in a preceding page that many of the Celts, both in Gaul and Britain, assumed the names of divinities (see page 118, and page 119). In particular, the name Belinos or Apollo was frequent. (*Ibid;* and see also Livy's *History*, xliv, 14.) Further; from the cheering influence of the sun, whom that divinity represented, it appears to have been used in a patronising or tutelary sense, in Britain at least, as in the names of Cunobelinus and Cassivelaunus (Cassibelinus), one of which we may interpret as "Apollo the king", *i.e.*, patron or guardian; the other, the "Apollo or guardian of the Cassii". We thus arrive, without difficulty, at the meaning of our present Celtic name, or rather title, Dubnovellaunos, otherwise,

Dubnobelinus, that is, as before said, guardian or patron of the Dobuni, who were a powerful British state, and part of the late dominions of Cunobeline. Of this monarch, Dubnovellaunos was the son; and his other name by which he is known in history will appear presently.

IV. In gold. Obverse and reverse the same as the coin inscribed TASCIAV (see plate at p. 78, fig. 6; *Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, plate II, British coins, fig. 8; *Ruding*, third edition, 1840, Supplement, plate A, fig. 94); but this has TAXCI(AV) with an X. Weight, $82\frac{8}{10}$ grains.

Our present specimen, it will be seen, becomes somewhat remarkable by its unique variation, TAXCI(AV) for tasciav. Further; we may observe that the obverses of the two coins, TAXCI(AV) and DVBNO(VELLA)VNOS, bearing striking evidence of having been produced at the same mint, and of belonging to the same era, afford a strong proof, did we need it, that the legend TASCIAV or TAXCI(AV) is not a personal name, but of a titular description.

V. In gold. The same type as the coins reading CATTI, QVANGETH and CORI; but this, instead of any of these legends, has the word COMVX. See this coin explained in the *Journal* for 1850, vol. vi, p. 20. Weight, $80\frac{4}{10}$ grains. Found at Frome, in Somersetshire.

VI. In silver. Obverse, capricorn to the right; beneath the figure, the legend CAM. Reverse, the letter V or A within a circle, which is again surrounded by a wreath. This coin has been some years in the Museum, and may be principally mentioned here to note that it is given incorrectly in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, plate I, fig. 48, and p. CLIV, with the legend CVN instead of CAM, under which orthography its due import is somewhat disguised. However, neither in the one case nor the other does the V or A of the reverse seem readily to admit of an explanation.

VII. In gold; from the Holmesdale collection. Obverse, a horse unmounted, to the left. Reverse, E, P, P, I. the letters inscribed separately in the four compartments of a cruciform object, described sometimes as a wheel with four spokes.

Besides the interest which this type has of its own, it has another, that of verifying Stukeley's delineations of it in his plate XX, 3, and thus shewing the reality of various of his types which are not now of common occurrence. Regarding the import of it; the legend in its full form would read EPPILLVS, and is a Celtic title, signifying that

the person who so designated himself claimed to be an hereditary king. It has been stated at the former page 118 that this title only occurred in Britain, among the southern Belgæ of the island, and, in this instance, the person who bore it may not impossibly have been a son of the Divitiacus of Cæsar. See the *Journal* for 1850, vol. vi, p. 24.

We may add another Britanno-Belgic type to the foregoing one from Mr. Cuff's collection. This unique specimen was engraved some years ago in Mr. Hawkins' *Silver Coins*, 8vo., 1841, plate I, fig. 12; but the explanation of it has not hitherto been attempted. It is as follows:—

VIII. In silver. An eagle to the left, with a garland. Reverse, a cross or wheel with four spokes, with a double circlet in the centre, with the letters separately, one in each compartment, C, R, A, B. Thus approximating to the reverse of the coin No. 5, page 303, vol. i, of the *Journal* for 1845, and to the reverse of the above coin of Eppillus.

As this coin, beyond all doubt, from workmanship, style of type, and other particulars, is one of the class which bear the legends COMF, TINC, etc., and which are assignable to the Belgæ of the south of Britain; so we must seek the appropriation of it in that quarter. We have here in fact a coin of the Regni; and we need entertain but little doubt that the letters of the legend represented in Celtic the words C(OMMIOS) RA(IGNΩN) B(VOILGH), or an inscription somewhat in that form and terms, implying "The Community of the Belgic Regni", or of the Regni of Belgium; the usual term, F(IR), or men, of the other types of this class (see *Journal*, vol. vi, p. 23) being here omitted, the reason apparently being because the word Raignoi being used, it would only have been superfluous. In Latin, we should have the legend very nearly the same, C(OMMVNITAS) RA(IGNORVM) B(ELGIS).

The principal thing we have to explain in this interpretation, is the orthography, Raignoi for Regnoi, which appears not to be attended with any difficulty, as can be readily shewn. The Regni are mentioned in the *Geography* of Ptolemy as one of the states of ancient Britain; and as he gives the orthography of their name, Ῥῆγνοι, the circumflex on the first syllable shews that a contraction had been introduced, and that it once was written Ρειγνοι (Reignoi). If so, as ei and ai may be regarded as virtually inter-

changeable, we are warranted in assuming the orthography, Raignoi for Regni, as proposed, in the interpretation of this legend. Further, the Celtic word rex or rix, a king, was varied in some dialects to rhag or rag, and from the name Arviragus, interpreted "ardi rag", high king, it seems to have been so in use in Britain. There is then reason to believe that the word regnum, used by the Romans to designate this district, was only the translation of a prior Celtic name, implying that this part of the country had been a separate province or government among the Britons themselves, and that these last had styled it in their language the "ragnawdd", or the like, signifying the government or province.

Such are the types, partly new and partly varieties of other types before known, as we have before observed, which now swell the number of ancient British moneys. One of them is a coin of Eppillus, another a coin of the Regni, whilst a third, inscribed COMVX, may be regarded as a provincial coin of ancient Britain: but, with these exceptions, the rest seem clearly assignable to the family of Cunobeline; and though the discovery of more perfect specimens is required, to ascertain their full legends in one or two instances, yet their particular appropriation cannot be doubtful. We have explained the application of one of these types, that of AEDII, to Adminius, Cunobeline's son, and have noticed two other types in connexion, which are only more or less variations of it. One still remains, —the type with the legend DVBNOVELLAVNOS,—and we have to ascertain to which of Cunobeline's sons it applies.

To do this we must recapitulate some few of the particulars which are known respecting the offspring of Cunobeline, which we have already given in as much detail as our ancient sources of information permitted in vol. iii of the *Journal* for 1847 (p. 230 to 235); but here our purpose will be to advert to such points as more particularly bear on the further accession of types now obtained, and especially to the one which we still seek to appropriate.

We infer then from our new types, more confidently than we could do before (*Ib.* p. 233), that Adminius, Cunobeline's reputed eldest son, returned to Britain after having surrendered himself to Caligula in Belgium. (See Suetonius, *Caligula*, c. 44.) At that time, as we may understand

Suetonius, he surrendered also his dominions in Britain to the emperor (*Ibid.*), and was reserved for triumph at Rome (*Ibid.* c. 47): though the same was not carried into execution, owing to the emperor being cut off in his career. Whether he escaped, or was allowed to return, it matters not to our present purpose; but the inference is, that on the deaths of Caligula and Cunobeline, which appear to have happened both about the same time, he made his re-appearance in Britain, and, according to the primitive simplicity and bon-hommie of the Celts, and with the concurrence and approval of his brothers, was allowed to put himself at the head of the Trinobantes, one of the leading and most influential states of ancient Britain. The other arrangements of the time, we may conclude, were that Togodumnus, or rather, as we have authority now to say, Togodubnus,[1] another brother, led on the Cassii, Dobuni, and some other states; while Caractacus, a third brother, was king of the Silures, or of South Wales, and the western part of the late king Cunobeline's territories; and with him, according to Welsh authorities (*Myvyrian Archaiology*, ii, 8, 69), either at this or a later period was a fourth brother, Belinus, acting as a general under him. (See the *Cambrian Biography*.) It is not recorded that this Belinus had any territories; but it is mentioned of him that he and the forces he conducted served without pay or reward. (*Triad* 79.) To continue. That Caractacus commanded a separate army is implied in the *History* of Dion Cassius: and other brothers there might have been (see Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 35, 37); but, if there were, we do not know their names, or any other particulars for certain about them.

Having then these data, we shall not have much difficulty in assigning the type of which we are now inquiring. The type DVBNOVELLAVNOS can only apply to the Togodumnus or Togodubnus, the commander-in-chief in the east of Britain, of whom we have just been speaking, and to the like assignation we of course turn over the two other types of obviously close resemblance, TASCIAV and TAXC(IAV), which, as we said before, must needs refer to the same Dubnovellaunos.

[1] In the like way the Chichester inscription makes it very clear that the Cogidunus of Tacitus, mentioned in his *Life of Agricola*, c. 14, was in its proper orthography Cogidubnus. See Gough's *Camden*, and other authorities.

There are some corollaries to which we may arrive from our preceding researches, which are not without their value.

I. Adminius, the reputed eldest son of Cunobeline, having borne the name of Aedd, this circumstance appears to be evidence that it was an historical name among the Britons, and, consequently, supports the idea that the Triads in which Aedd the Great is mentioned, the ancestor of the British royal line, were derived either from historical sources, or traditions considered authentic in the days of Cunobeline.

II. The two generalissimos of the Britons in the war of the Roman invasion, Caractacus (see *Journal*, vol. ii, for 1846, p. 12) and Togodumnus, having the title of *tascio*, and Adminius not having it, seems to imply that it was a title applicable only to the chief commander of the military forces.

III. That the absence of the deities especially worshipped at Rome, on the coins of Togodubnus and Adminius, so abundant on British types in the former reign, and the absence of Latin terminations, and the occurrence of a Greek termination, and of letters of forms never known on Cunobeline's coins, resulted from the hostilities which subsisted at the time of issuing these moneys between the Romans and Britons; the latter wishing to abandon customs derived from Rome.[1] See this point adverted to in vol. iii of the *Journal* for 1847, p. 231.

IV. That the reign of Cunobeline having continued about fifty-three years, and the joint reigns of Togodubnus and Adminius about two-and-a-half, there is a proportionable number of the coins of these two princes to those of Cunobeline.

We may not dismiss our present subject without a remark, that as all the new types and varieties investigated in this our present part thirteen, with the exception perhaps of one not recognized, and which may be spurious, come within classes already known, there may be

[1] The coins ascribed to Caractacus may possibly come under the same category. Most of them are apparently from Greek types, and, except in one instance, the lettering of them is Greek. It is true the head of Hercules was on two of his types: but the Celts had also a divinity of this name, Hercules Ogmius, as appears from Lucian, vol. ii, p. 365. Amsterdam, 1687. They form a class of British coins, though one of limited extent, and read CEARATIC in common letters, CAERATIC in mixed, and KERAT, KERATI, etc., in Greek letters.

considered some ground for supposing that we have now gained a knowledge of the limits and extent of the ancient British coinage, and that it may be calculated, rather than otherwise, that but few coins which may now be found will do more than fill up the details of various classifications, with the outlines of which we are already acquainted.

PARENTAGE OF CARACTACUS.

The historian Dion Cassius in his sixtieth book informs us that this eminent Briton was one of the sons of Cunobeline, and with this agrees Tysilio's *Chronicle*, which has the following genealogical descent. Teneuvan (Timancius), Cynvelin (Cunobeline), Gweyrydd (supposed the same as Caractacus), Meurig, Coel, and Lucius. The Triads, however, make Caractacus the son of Brân, and in this opinion Cambrian writers very generally agree; though the error seems easy, of mistaking the title, brân, *i.e.*, brenhin, or king, for a proper name. Indeed, though this assumed fact is derived from the Triads, yet the lineage collected from them (see *Triads*, 24, 35, 41, 55, and 91), so far from bearing it out, corresponds so much with the *Chronicle* as to afford a pretty clear corroboration of our assertion. We have it there in this form, beginning from the same ancestor, Llyr Lledíaith, who can be no other than Timancius, from his position in the genealogy, Brân, Caradog, Cyllin, Coel, and Leirwg, that is Lucius. Here it is sufficiently evident that if Coel be the great grandson of Brân, he must also have been the great grandson of Cunobeline, for both lineages are male lines of descent, and Caradog, the grandfather, must have been the son of Cunobeline, and thus proof seems attainable from the Triads themselves. Whence the import of the expression "Caradog, son of Brân", which is of frequent occurrence in the Triads, may very justly be made a subject of scrutiny; and we may conclude the reason to have been that the original history or document from which the Triads were taken, from some cause, constantly spoke of this hero by the description of the king's, *i.e.*, Cunobeline's son.[1]

[1] The Triads are an ancient composition, of the date of about the eighth or ninth century, peculiar to Cambria, as it is believed neither France, Germany, nor Spain, possess anything of the kind. The Triads are not like the

It is remarkable that the *Chronicle* of Tysilio, instead of the four sons of Cunobeline, Adminius, Togodubnus, Caractacus, and Belinus, gives two only, Gwydyr, and Gweyrydd, on whom some comment seems required. The first of these, Gwydyr, who, according to the *Chronicle*, was killed in battle by the Romans, it is pretty clear was the Togodumnus of classical history, who met with the same fate as recorded by Dion Cassius in his narrative of these events; whilst Gweyrydd, the other son, was obviously intended for Caractacus, though the acts attributed to him do not correspond. Indeed, the *Chronicle* connects with his name a string of fictions which seem to have been the stock-in-trade of some early writer of romance who chose these times for his subject. As to the identity, however, of Gweyrydd with Caractacus, it must be remembered, that *Triad* 24 presents a difficulty, which speaks of these two persons as not the same; a difficulty which does not admit of being removed, unless we suppose an error in the manuscript of the original, and that, as is very possible, Gwydyr, and not Gweyrydd, originally stood in the text.

It may be a cause for regret, that the writer of the *British Chronicle*, who was evidently acquainted with the existence of this eminent native of our island, did not give a more veracious narrative; but the fictions of romance seem to have had greater attractions than a mere detail of facts, or at any rate to have been chosen in preference. With romance, another cause also combined. There is scarcely a doubt but that the leading matters of British story were made the subjects of pageants, to be exhibited to the people, as the deeds of Arthur, etc., etc. (see Roberts' *Early History of the Britons*, p. 145), and the story of Gweyrydd or Caractacus would have been one of these topics. We can easily conceive the distortions which would have been introduced into the accounts of ancient British events from these sources.

comparisons in Plutarch's Lives, limited to the number two and to persons, but extend to the number three, and to events as well as to personages. The Triads were evidently drawn up from some ancient British history of value, now lost. Unlike the comparisons in Plutarch, they are for the most part unaccompanied by narrative or explanation; or where anything of the kind is introduced, it is merely of the most brief and cursory description; though the Triads profess to give in each case the grounds or reason of the comparison.

NOTE.

Some remarks having lately appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, by John Evans, esq., questioning the general correctness of the explanations of British coins as given in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, a few observations on various points which he advances may be deemed requisite. The ancient British coinage forms a monument and a relic at once so striking and extensive of the former Celtic race which, previously to the Saxons, occupied our island, that the endeavour to remove the difficulties which embarrass the study of it may be well worth attention. Besides, in this case, the said remarks having for their object the revival of certain views on the subject, which, as at variance with history, geography, chronology, and, it may be added, with probability, ought, therefore, justly to be exploded, it may be regarded a circumstance the more particularly requiring comment.

The writer of the remarks, it may be first noticed, is unfortunate in coming so late into the field. He has waited till the classification of the British series has been completed, and till important types have been brought forward which have afforded proof too clear to admit of doubt. It may be allowable then to question the utility of his coming forward at all, since he can neither overturn the classification which has been proposed in several volumes of the *Journal*, which, indeed he but slightly attacks, nor has any system of his own to suggest, nor can any longer, from Mr. Wigan's type of TASC. FIR and its fellow, and Mr. C. R. Smith's Icenian type of VREIS. R. TASCI (see the *Journal* for April 1851) have any reasonable prospect of maintaining the old.

The writer of the remarks, however, attempts to throw a doubt on the authenticity of Mr. C. R. Smith's new type; but as its proprietor, who has now had it in his possession many months, never heard its genuineness questioned by those who saw it, nor was aware that such was the case till the remarks were printed, the weight of that assertion may be estimated. Briefly, it may be observed on this head, that this type being of a different coinage of ancient Britain from those of Cunobeline's, to doubt its genuineness, because it varies in certain particulars from the coins of that sovereign, must be regarded as a proof that a due discrimination has not been exercised; nor can any weight be assigned to such objections.

It has just been observed, that the writer of the remarks commences on a wrong basis, and, conformably to this, much that he says is more or less misstatement, and several of his objections are no further objections than because something remains behind unmentioned. Space will not allow much reference to his observations, but one or two points may be noticed.

The principal aim of the writer of the remarks being to interpret ancient British coins, so that they should appear to speak of a supposed king in the island, named Tasciovanus, who has never yet been either traditionally or historically mentioned in any document, and who finds a place in no chronicle, in no lineage of British kings; the whole of his arguments accordingly bear directly or indirectly on this point. Led away by a favourite theory, he endeavours to support the idea of the existence of this imaginary sovereign at all hazards. But observe his mistake. The legend which he takes for his name is no more than a title which occurs on Cunobeline's coins. It is, in fact, the word TASC or TASCIO in its varieties, which is sufficiently shewn to be of a titular nature by etymology and the analogy of several ancient and modern dialects and languages. This title, TASCIO, implies military leader or commander, the same indeed as *imperator* in Latin; and where it stands combined with the letter F on Cunobeline's coins, there it is to be interpreted TASCIO FIRBOLG, that is, ruler or leader of the Firbolgi, who were a powerful foreign nation of Belgic Gauls, mentioned by Cæsar, though not under that name, and who, in two or three branches, resided in Britain among the tribes which were more strictly aboriginal, and appear to have kept themselves a distinct race. There is, *a priore*, a strong presumption that the kings of this population should mention the name of their state on their coins; and that they did so in reality, we shall presently shew from the fuller legend to which we have before alluded. Let it, however, be first observed, that the term "Firbolg" is a known Celtic appellation to imply Belgæ, literally signifying the men of the Belgæ, on the same principle as we say Scotchmen or Englishmen.

Now the legend TASC. F, or the longer form TASCIOVANI. F, cannot mean, as the writer of the remarks thinks, Tasciovani filius, *i.e.*, son of Tasciovanus, supposing the same to be a man's name, because in two instances, now authenticated beyond all contradiction, the fuller legend of TASC FIR occurs on the coins of Mr. Wigan and the honourable R. C. Neville. This may settle the question as far as Cunobeline's coinage is concerned; but there is another coinage of ancient Britain on the legends of which the above explanation has an important bearing. There were the Belgæ, south of the Thames, who were of course Firbolgi too, and it seems formed a separate community, union, or confederacy among themselves, apparently rendered necessary by so powerful a neighbour on the north, the Trinobantine-Cassian kingdom. Now it may be observed, that the same ethnological name occurs on their coins. We have upon them the legend constantly met with, though in a rather shorter form, of COM F; and as we find by the cognate Gaulish coinage that the word COMMIOS signifies a district or political community, the proposition may hold good, that as we had before TASC. FIR standing for TASCIO FIRBOLG, *i.e.*, leader of the Firbolgi, for Cunobeline, so we should have here

COMMIOS FIRBOLG, that is, the community or confederacy of the Belgæ. This is submitted as the true and reasonable explanation of the coins of two of the principal branches of the Belgic population of ancient Britain; and these points being shown respecting these two classes of moneys, the principal difficulties of understanding the ancient British coinage are mastered, and the remaining part of it yields itself more readily to explanation.

We must not overlook the general inference: and it may be allowable to direct attention to the reasonable and consistent results thus obtained, as affording clear indications of the little foundation which exists for the objections urged in the remarks.

Now, would it be believed that any one could be found at the present time so blinded by a favourite idea as to hazard an assertion that FIR may possibly be a barbarous contraction of the word filius? yet this is what the writer of the remarks proposes, and this is certainly a new and unexpected point; but the opinion may be pronounced erroneous with some degree of confidence, as the coin being one of the best executed specimens of Cunobeline's mintage, was, in all probability, the workmanship of a Roman artist, who would hardly have made such a mistake in his own language.

However, the writer of the remarks objects that FIR is not enough of the word FIRBOLG to stand for the whole of it, particularly as it does not take in any portion of the generic part, BOLG. In answer to this, we have only to suppose that the word having been in use during the lapse of so many centuries, the two parts of it had become so completely amalgamated into one, that the first syllable, or even the first letter, might stand for the whole. There appears no reasonable cause to think to the contrary.

But the writer calls for a reason why, if TASCIO be a title, it should sometimes stand as a sole legend on Cunobeline's coins, which have occasionally this word, and nothing else? In answer, it may be observed, that the same custom appears evidently in use in the cognate Gaulish coinage of the opposite continent, which sometimes has for a sole legend a name which is evidently titular, as EPILOS, (VERC)INGETORIXS, etc. The practice may seem foreign to our ideas; but it must be remembered, that among the Celts, titular distinctions seem to have been more in the lieu of names than we are able to trace was of occurrence among other ancient nations; consequently, we may chiefly view in TASCIO, being sometimes a sole legend on ancient British coins, the predilection which Cunobeline had for this title, which we see that, according to Celtic customs, he could have so used.

The writer of the remarks has some misgivings whether Tascio, if a title, could appear on the same coin as rex; he may, however, be perfectly easy respecting this, as there is a very similar point which is

ascertained beyond all doubt by ancient authority, that the leader among the Thessalians, who had the precisely parallel title of Tagos, *i.e.*, imperator, had also sometimes the title of rex, which may be considered decisive on this question. Here it may be necessary to remark, that in translating Tascio as imperator, it is by no means intended, as the writer would imply, that it should be taken in the sense of emperor, but to signify simply military commander or leader.

One thing, deceptive in ancient British coins, may here be noticed, which is, the Latinization of the inflexions of their legends, frequently observable. But we are not to regard them the less expressed in Celtic for this. For as that language had, without doubt, its full share of inflexions, so the Celts, when coming in contact with more polished nations, adopted from time to time their inflexions; the cognate Gaulish coinage approximating to the Greek in this respect, the British coinage to the Latin. This should be regarded merely as the adoption of a variation from a foreign language, but not as the adopting the foreign language itself.

In concluding, it may be allowable to suggest, that the readings TASCIO FIRBOLG, and COMMIOS FIRBOLG, together with a due and proper classification which these readings alone render compatible, supply the true key for unlocking the difficulties of the ancient British coinage; and as such, the solution thus attainable may be recommended not only to the writer of the remarks, but to every numismatist who takes up the study of the subject.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. IV.

MONASTERY OF CALKE.

THE following are the two inedited and hitherto unknown ancient charters relating to this monastery, which were referred to in the last number of the *Journal* (p. 239). They are both of high antiquity, and well merit preservation.

1. "R. comes de Ferrers universis sancte ecclesie filiis et omnibus hominibus, et amicis suis, Francis et Anglis, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse sancto Egydio et canonicis de Calc illam carruatam terre q: Haraldus dededat in Leca et capellam pro anima fratris sui Reinaldi canonici in domo predicta in perpetuam elemosinam solam et

quietam ab omni servitio et consuetudine q. mihi pertinet et heredibus meis p. me, et prohibeo omnibus bailliis et ministris meis ne capiant pecunias canonicorum pro ullo defectu alicujus servitii quod Haraldus vel heredes sui debebunt mihi vel heredibus meis. Teste," etc.

II. "Agnes filia Ricardi filii Nigelli de Malpas omnibus filiis sancte ecclesie salutem. Notum vobis sic me dedisse et concessisse ex patrimonio meo et hereditate mea Deo et sancte Marie et sancto Egidio et canonicis de Calc terram duorum bibulcorum in Chegvirthia (?) cum una masura que est ad introitum ville ex parte occidentali et ex meridiana parte vie, scilicet triginta duas acras sexdecim ex una parte ville et sexdecim ex alia parte in perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et domini mei et Rodberti filii mei et pro animabus patris et matris mee et Nigelli domini mei de Malpas et Ricardi et Willelmi filiorum meorum, et omnium antecessorum meorum, liberam et quietam, ab omni servitio et consuetudine et ab omnibus querelis et placitis et ab omnibus rebus sicut ulla elemosina liberius dari potest, excepto servicio regis, quia de aliis servitiis terra illa libera est, illam (videlicet) quam predictus Willielmus filius meus prefatis canonicis divisit. Teste," etc.

The last charter is undoubtedly of very early date, probably written soon after the foundation of the monastery. J. O. H.

FAMILY OF LATHOM.

W. Langton, esq. has forwarded to the Association the following interesting documents relating to the family of Lathom (see vol. vi, pp. 199-209).

The extracts from the Close roll of the county Palatine were obligingly communicated to Mr. Langton by Mr. W. Hardy, when the note on Lathum was drawn up by Mr. Hulton in his edition of the Coucher book of Whalley Abbey, printed by the Chetham Society. They supply evidence that Johanna, the second wife and widow of sir Thomas de Lathom, knt., had married her paramour, Roger de Fazacreley, and that the widow of the last Thomas de Lathom was named Isabella, and not Mabella, as the name was probably miscopied by Dodsworth. They afford ground for believing that Elena, the heiress of the last Lathom, was alive 1st July, 1385. Mr. Langton can find no evidence to establish the date of her death, but he

does not think she can have survived till 1387, as might be inferred from Torbok's *Inquisition*, formerly quoted in Mr. Planché's note on Lathom.

It has escaped the genealogists of this family that the last Thomas de Lathom had a younger brother, Edward, who was alive in the first year of Richard II, when he married Elena, daughter of sir John le Botiller, of Merton. There can have been no issue from this alliance, which the bridegroom must not long have survived, otherwise there would have been a bar to the entry of Isabella de Stanley into possession of the estates. Indeed, Elena le Botiler is found very shortly after this time to be the wife of Nicholas Croft, of Dalton.

Hopkinson, in his manuscript pedigree in the library of Miss Currer, mentions another member of the Lathom family, Margaret, a younger sister of Isabella de Stanley. She is stated to have married Nicholas, son of sir Nicholas Harrington, descended from Hornby, and to have been the progenitrix of the Harringtons of Huyton, near Knowsley.

Some of the Cheshire genealogists have sought to identify Isabel Stanley, *née* Lathom, with the lady mentioned by sir Peter Leycester as married to sir Geoffrey de Worsley, whose issue was bastardized by the subsequent proof of irregularity in his first wife's divorce. This Isabel, however, cannot have been the same with the heiress of Lathom, and widow of sir John Stanley. Following the printed pedigree, sir John appears to have died 6th January, 1414, and by the inquisitions (of which an abstract is here printed) she is found to have only survived until Friday next after All Saints' day in the same year, their son and heir, John de Stanley, being then twenty-eight years old. The abstract of the inquisition on sir Geoffrey de Worsley shews his demise to have taken place long before that of Stanley, whose widow he is reputed to have married.

ROT: CLAUS. DUCAT. LANC.

A. 6. *No.* 59.

De anno sexto Regalitatis Joh: Duc: Lanc. Com: sui palatini Lanc.

Writ of Diem clausit extremum after the death of Sir Thomas de Lathum kt., post mortem Thomæ de Lathum militis. 20 March.

A. 6. *No.* 15 *dors.*

"Hic incipit annus septimus.

"Pro Rogero de Fasacreley. Edwardus de Lathum senior Henricus de Scaresbrek senior et Ricardus de Ellerbek recognoverunt se et quemlibet eorum per se insolidum debere Rogero de Fasacreley quadraginta libras solvendas ei in festo Sancti Michaelis proximo futuro. Et nisi fecerint concedunt quod predicta pecunia levetur de terris et catallis suis in comitatu Lancastriæ. Teste rege et duce apud Lancastr. xxij die Augusti.

"Et fait a remembrer que le dit Roger de Fasacreley voet et graunt pur luy ses heirs et ses executours que si les ditz Edward de Lathum Henr. de Scaresbrek et Richard de Ellerbek et Thomas fitz Thomas de Lathum chivaler et Richard de Torbok esterront al arbitrement et parfournement del agard de qatre hommes arbitrours entre le dit Roger et eux cest assavoir William de Aghton et William de Rixton esluz del partie du dit Roger et Johan de Raynford et Henr. de Collayc esluz del partie des ditz Edward et autres avant nommez touchant le dower que le dit Roger et Johanne sa femme demandent devers le dit Edward des tenementz en Wrightinton, et toutz autres trespasses perentre les dites parties, dont le dit Roger ad diverses billes pendantz devant les Justices a Lancastre come appiert par record devers les dites parties et autres, les queles trespasses les ditz Edward et autres reconissent estre faitz. Et si le ditz quatre hommes arbitrours ne purront recorder [*accorder*] de leur agarde, les ditz Edward Henr' Richard Thomas et Richard et autres esterront al agarde de Rauf de Radclif nounpier eslu pur defaut de les qatre hommes avanditz touchant toutes les choses devant nommez et que les ditz arbitrement et agard soient faitz entre cy et la fest de Seint Martyn en yver proschein avenir, q'adonqes la dite reconissance de qarant livres perde sa force. Et si les ditz covenantz ne soient parfournez par les avant ditz Edward et autres en la fourme avant dite q'adonqes la dite reconissance de qarante livres estoise en sa force."

A. 6. *No.* 79.

"De anno septimo Regalitatis Com: Pal. Lanc.

"Rex et dux dilecto sibi Roberto de Urswik Escaetori suo in Com. Lanc: salutem. Quia Hugo de Dacre chevaler qui de nobis tenuit in capite diem clausit extremum &c. Teste rege et duce apud Lancastr. primo die Februarii.

"Consimile breve dirigitur præfato Escaetori de terris et tenementis quæ fuerunt Thomæ de Lathum qui de eodem rege et duce tenuit in capite, in manum ipsius regis et ducis capiendis. Teste ut supra."

Ibid. No. 91.

"Annus septimus.

"Rex et dux, &c., Escaetori suo in Com: Lanc. salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod capto sacramento Isabellæ quæ fuit uxor Thomæ de Lathum defuncti qui de nobis tenuit in capite quod se non maritabit sine licentia nostra, eidem Isabellæ rationabilem dotem suam ipsam de manerio de Lathum, excepta quadam parcella ejusdem manerii in qua eadem Isabella clamat habere conjunctum statum cum præfato Thoma quondam viro suo, quod quidem manerium prædictus Thomas quondam vir suus tenuit in dominico suo ut de feodo in baliva tua die quo obiit, et quod post mortem predicti Thomæ captum fuit in manum nostram et in manu nostra sic existit, secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Angliæ contingentem per extentam inde factam vel aliam si necesse fuerit iterato faciendam, assignari facias, &c.

"Teste rege et duce apud Lanc. primo die Februarii."

A. 6. *No.* 95.

"De anno octavo.

"Mandamus Lathum. Rex et dux Escaetori suo in comitatu Lanc. salutem. Mandamus vobis quod per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de baliva vestra, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit, diligenter inquiratis quas terras et quæ tenementa Thomas filius Thomæ de Lathum militis defunctus tenuit de nobis in capite, tam in dominico quam in servitio, in balliva vestra, die quo obiit, et quantum de aliis, et per quod servitium, et quantum terræ illæ valeant per annum in omnibus exitibus, et a quo tempore idem Thomas filius Thomæ obiit, et si obiit intestatus necne, et quis propinquior heres ejus sit et cujus ætatis, et quis vel qui terras et tenementa illa a tempore mortis prædicti Thomæ filii Thomæ occupavit vel occupaverunt et exitus et proficua inde percepit vel perceperunt, quo titulo qualiter et quomodo. Et inquisitionem inde distincte et aperte factam nobis in cancellaria nostra sub sigillo vestro et sigillis eorum per quos facta fuerit sine dilatione mittatis, et hoc breve. Teste rege et duce apud Lancastriam sexto decimo die Februarii.

"Consimile breve dirigitur præfato Escaetori pro Thoma filio Roberti de Lathum Chivaler defuncto teste ut supra."

A. 6. *No.* 93.

"De anno octavo.

"Rex et dux Justiciariis suis de Banco salutem. Cum Rogerus de Fasacreley et Johanna uxor ejus arrainaverint coram vobis quandam assisam novæ dessesinæ versus Elenam filiam Thomæ filii Thomæ de Lathum militis et alios in brevi nostro originali contentos de tenementis

in Knouslegh Childwall Roby et Anlasargh, ac prædicta Elena placitando in assisa illa allegaverit tenementa in visu posita in manu nostra existere. Et super hoc Robertus de Urswyk Escaetor noster præsens in curia de præmissis per vos examinatus asseruerit se tenementa prædicta, pro eo quod invenit per inquisitionem coram eo captam quod Thomas filius Thomæ de Lathum militis pater prædictæ Elenæ cujus hæres ipsa est obiit seisitus in prædictis tenementis in dominico suo ut de feodo et ea tenuit de nobis in capite et quod prædicta Elena fuit infra ætatem, in manum nostram seisivisse, dictaque tenementa in manu nostra ea occasione existere; quarum quidem allegationis et testificationis prætextu vos ad captionem assisæ prædictæ procedere distulistis, et adhuc differtis; unde ex parte ipsorum Rogeri et Johannæ nobis est supplicatum ut eis de remedio providere velimus. Et quia eisdem Rogero et Johannæ justiciam differri nolumus in hac parte, vobis mandamus quod ad captionem assisæ prædictæ cum ea celeritate qua de jure et secundum legem et consuetudinem Angliæ poteritis, procedatis, allegatione et justificatione prædictis non obstantibus; dum tamen ad judicium inde reddendum nobis inconsultis nullatenus procedatis. Teste rege et duce vicesimo die Februarii."

A. 6. *No.* 105.

"Annus nonus.

"The King and duke to his Justices of the Bench greeting. Whereas Roger de Faysacreley and Joan his wife, etc. (As in the document No. 93.) And now the said Roger and Joan by their petition before us exhibited in our great council have besought us that albeit they have often requested you to proceed with the assize, nevertheless you defer the same 'in ipsorum Rogeri et Johannæ dispendium non modicum et jacturam', because it is alleged before you that it is found by divers inquisitions taken by our Escheator and returned into Chancery by our command since the date of our former writ, that the aforesaid Thomas son of Thomas de Lathum knt. died seized of the lands and tenements in feetail, and that the said lands, by the death of him the said Thomas the son of Thomas and by reason of the nonage of the aforesaid Ellen, daughter and heiress of the aforesaid Thomas, son of Thomas in the aforesaid entail, were in our hands. We command you to proceed with the taking of the said assize, etc. So that you proceed not to give judgment therein 'nobis inconsultis.' Witness the king and duke at Lancaster, 1st February." (1386.)

"Inquisitio capta apud Lanc. die veneris prox. post festum sancti Matthei apostoli per sacramentum Rogeri de Pilkington chivaler Jacobi de Radcliffe Johannis de Radcliffe de Urdsall etc. qui dicunt quod Galfridus

de Workeslegh miles obiit die Jovis prox. ante festum Pasche anno 8 Ric. 2.[1] Et quod Elizabetha est filia et heres predicti Galfridi et etatis unius anni. Tenuit manerium de Workeslegh cum pertinentiis de domino duce in socagio et redd. 13^{s} 4^{d} per annum. Tenuit tres partes manerii de Hulton in Salfordshire in socagio et certas terras in villa Salford in burgagio."

Issabella que fuit uxor Joh. de Stanley. 15 June 1415. 3 H. 5.

"Inquisitio capta apud Ormeskerk coram Roberto de Halsale 15 die Junii anno Henrici quinti tertio per sacramentum Rogeri de Aghton et aliorum qui dicunt quod Issabella que fuit uxor Johannis de Stanley chivaler non obiit seisitus de aliquibus terris infra com. Lanc. pro eo quod diu ante obitum suum predicta Issabella feoffavit dominum Henricum de Halsale archi. Cestr. et Ricardum de Stanley personam ecclesie de Walton de manerio de Lathum ac de omnibus terris que habuit infra com. Lanc. per quandam cartam cujus dat. est apud Lathum die lune in tertia septimana quadragesime anno Henrici quinti primo. Et quod predicta Issabella obiit die veneris prox. ante festum omnium sanctorum anno Henrici quinti secundo et quod Johannes de Stanley est filius et propinquior heres predicte Issabelle et etatis 28 annorum et amplius."

Sir Peter Leycester.

Part iv, p. 370.—*Tatton.*

"vii. Sir John Massy, of Tatton, knight, son and heir of Hugh, married Alice, sister and heir to sir Geoffrey Worseley of Worseley in Lancashire, about 46 Edward III, and had issue Thomas, eldest son, who married Margaret, daughter of ———, but died without issue, on St. Bartholomew's day, 1420. 8 Hen. V. Afterwards Margaret married sir John Gresley. Geoffrey Massey, second son, succeeded heir to his brother Thomas," etc.

"Sir Geoffrey Worseley, before mentioned, married Mary, daughter of sir Thomas Felton; which Mary being divorced, entered into a nunnery. Then he took to wife Isabel Stanley, by whom he had issue Elizabeth. After the death of sir Geoffrey Worseley, Mary came out, and proved she entered for fear, and that she was divorced upon a feigned ground, and proved Elizabeth to be illegitimate: and the pope confirms her return into secularity," etc.

"Alice, the widow of sir John Massy, died 6 Hen. VI, in the beginning of October, 1427."

[1] 30th March, 1385.

Acknowledgement of the receipt of £159. 8. 7. by Queen Margaret, from Sir John de Sandale 30 Sept.r 29 Edw. 1. 1301

Sciant universi per presentes nos Margaretam Reginam Angl. Dominam Hibn. et Ducissam Aquitanie recepisse in Garderoba nra super expensas hospicii nri per manus dilti clici nri Johis de Todele aprocis Garderobe predce, de dno Johe de Sandale custode camere London. centum, et quinquaginta nouem Libras octo sol. et septem denarios de exitibus ejusdem camere; de qua quidem summa pecunie super computum ipsum debitum eidem dno Johi allocationem in anc.a vel recepcione hac litas nunc sibi dicimus patentes. Dat. apud Westmestr. primo die septembr. anno regni dni nri regis Edwardi nunc primo. Rotulo —

J. Watters & Co Litho. Basinghall Street.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE RECEIPT OF MONEY BY MARGARET, QUEEN OF EDWARD I. 1301.

The original of this document is in the possession of a member of the council (F. H. Davis, esq.); and an exact facsimile of it, and of the seal which it bears impressed on a part of the vellum cut so as to serve for a label, is given in the annexed plate (XLIV). It is an acquittance, or receipt, for the sum of £149 : 8 : 7, paid into the wardrobe of the second queen of Edward I, out of the profits of the Exchange of London (a department of the Royal Mint), by sir John de Sandale, warden of the Exchange; which sum the queen promises to allow on his account. It is dated at Woodstock, 30 Sept. 29 Edw. I. [1301;] and it probably was used as a voucher to one of the accounts of the Mint and Exchange, of which many are preserved among the Exchequer Records, in the Public Record Office. It may be observed that the seal bears the arms of England and France, *per pale;* this queen being sister of the then French king, Philip le Bel, at her marriage in 1299.

"Pateat universis per presentes quod nos Margareta Dei gratia Regina Angl. Domina Hibern. et ducissa Aquitann. recepimus in Garderoba nostra super expensis Hospicii nostri per manus dilecti clerici nostri Johannis de Godele custodis garderobe predicte de domino Johanne de Sandale custode cambii London. centum et quinquaginta novem libras octo sol. septem denar. de exitibus eiusdem cambii de qua quidem summa pecunie super compotum suum debitam eidem fieri faciemus allocacionem. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras sibi fieri fecimus patentes. Dat. apud Wodestok. ultimo die Septembr. anno regni karissimi domini nostri regis Edwardi vicesimo nono." W. H. B.

ANCIENT CHARTERS RELATING TO THE ABBEY AND TOWN OF BURTON-ON-TRENT.

At the Derby Congress the following documents were exhibited by Robert Thornewill, esq., of Burton-on-Trent; who has kindly confided the originals to the council for the purpose of exact transcription in the pages of the Journal. They have been carefully preserved in an old leathern box.

The first is a charter indented, nobly written in a large ingrossing hand of the thirteenth century, on an upright (not oblong) page of vellum, thirteen inches by nine in breadth, with the seal of the abbey hanging on a plaited lace. It was in the name of William abbot of Burton and the whole convent, reciting that the king had, for the salvation of his soul, granted to them "to make one borough at Burton, and all liberties and free customs to a borough belonging," and confirmed the same to them by his charter. They will, therefore, that all who, after such royal grant, took burgages from them, namely, in the street extending from the great bridge of Burton to the new bridge toward Horningelawe, they, and their heirs, should hold them by the tenure of the yearly rent of twelvepence for every burgage, payable at the feasts of Saint Michael and Easter. It declares that every burgage should consist of twenty-four perches in length, and four in breadth; smaller tenements to pay less in proportion. They grant that the burgesses should have all the liberties and free customs which could be granted to them, as the free burgesses of any neighbouring borough. This grant is ratified by the seals of the abbot and convent (which are impressed on the two sides of the wax appended), and attested by various laics and ecclesiastics, whose names are given; among the latter are, Henry, parson of Etewelle; Ralph, parson of Stapenhille; among the former, Ralph, the chamberlain, and Adam, the marshal; perhaps, officers of such designations in the borough. It is not dated.

This charter was evidently made in two parts, being indented through the word CIROGRAPHUM, but there is nothing (except, perhaps, the words "Hornmyle Streete", in a comparatively modern hand on the back), to show whether it were the part granted to the burgesses, or that retained by the abbey. No doubt both parts were sealed alike, as there is no mention of any sealing on behalf of the burgesses; and it is in fact the original instrument creating burgages, at least in that district of the borough which is therein described.

(1.) "Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, frater Willelmus divina permissione abbas Burtonie: et totus ejusdem loci conventus: salutem in Deo salutari nostro. Noverit universitas vestra quod dominus rex concessit nobis facere unum burgum apud

Burton. et omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines ad burgum pertinentes: nobis pro salute anime sue dedit. et carta sua confirmavit. Et ideo volumus ut omnes qui post hanc regiam concessionem nobis factam de nobis burgagia accipiunt. scilicet in vico illo qui jacet a magno ponte de Burton usque ad novum pontem versus Horningelawe: ea habeant ipsi et heredes sui libere et quiete. Reddendo nobis annuatim pro quolibet burgagio .xij.d. pro omni servicio. ad duos terminos. videlicet ad festum sancti Michaelis .vj.d. et ad Pascha .vj.d. Habebitque unum quodque burgagium .xx^{ti}iiij^{or}. percatas: in longitudine. et .iiij^{or}. in latitudine. Qui vero minus in illo loco habuerit: secundum estimationem minus dabit. Concedimus etiam ut burgenses predicti loci habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines quas eis concedere possumus sicut liberi burgenses de aliquo vicino burgo. Et ut hec nostra concessio rata et inviolabilis permaneat: eam presenti scripto [et si]gillorum nostrorum munimine roboravimus. Hiis testibus. Jordano de Tok. W[il]lelmo de Lawarde. Dauj de Caldewelle. Henrico persona de Etewelle. Hereberto de Stratton. Radulfo persona de Stapenhille. Reinaldo de sancto Albano. Hug. de Findern. Rob. de Bensicot. Henrico fil. Eue de Thamewrðe. Willelmo Franc. Petro de Derbi. Henrico Geri. Ric. Rundel de Tuttesbiri. Rob. Blundo. Radulfo Camberlano. Willelmo de Meleb. Adam Marescallo. et multis aliis."

The second is a charter of John, abbot of "Burthon", and the convent there, declaring all the burgages situate on both sides of the way called "Bradeweye", from the land of Thomas Homeldogge and Henry le Bonde, toward the "Brerecros", to be free and quit, as all other burgages in the town of "Burthon"; and granting to all the holders thereof the same liberties and customs as other burgesses of the same town, subject to the like rent of twelve pence yearly for one, or eighteen pence for one-and-a-half, and proportionately more or less. This charter declares that the burgesses may give, sell, assign, and bequeath their burgages to whomsoever they will, except to religious men not belonging to "our house of Burthon", and except to Jews. It is confirmed by the seals of the abbot and convent (which are affixed on distinct labels of parchment), and is witnessed by several persons named. Dated at "Burthon", on the calends of August, "Anno Domini 1273." The regnal year is not mentioned (which is an unusual omission, except in merely ecclesiastical documents): it would have been 1 Aug. 1 Edw. I.

(II.) "Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Johannes permissione divina abbas Burthon. et totus ejusdem loci conventus salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos concessisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris omnia burgagia sita ex utraque parte vie que vocatur Bradeweye. a terra Thome Homeledogge. et Henrici le Bonde versus le Brerecros ita esse libera et quieta in omnibus et per omnia imperpetuum: sicut sunt alia burgagia sita in dicta villa de Burthon. et quod omnes tenentes dicta burgagia ex utraque parte de Bradeweye sita: habeant easdem libertates et liberas consuetudines quas habent seu habere debent burgenses Burthon. ratione burgagiorum que habent in villa de Burthon: tam extra burgum: quam intra. Et quod possint dicta burgagia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et omnibus libertatibus suis. dare. vendere. assignare. et legare cuicunque voluerint exceptis omnibus viris religiosis aliis a domo nostra Burthon. et exceptis omnibus Judeis. Reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris quicumque dicta burgagia tenuerint pro singulis burgagiis: singulos duodecim denarios argenti ad duos anni terminos, scilicet ad festum sancti Micahelis [*sic*] sex denarios et ad Pascha sex denarios pro omni servitio seculari ratione dictorum burgagiorum exigendo. Ita tamen quod qui burgagium et dimidium tenet: reddat annuatim octodecim denarios ad predictos terminos. Et sic quilibet secundum quod magis vel minus tenuerit: majus minusve reddat. Et nos et successores nostri predicta burgagia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis prenotatis omnibus ea tenentibus contra omnes homines warantizabimus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium pro nobis et successoribus nostris presenti scripto sigilla nostra apponi fecimus. Hiis testibus. Radulfo de la Bache. Symone de Wythmere. Matheo filio Willelmi de Tatenhul. Willelmo filio Radulfi de Stapenhul. Stephano filio Willelmi de Wyneshul. et aliis. Dat. apud Burthon. kalendas Augusti. anno Domini millesimo. ducentesimo. septuagesimo tertio."

The third is a well-written charter of a succeeding abbot and the convent, dated sixteen years later. It grants like liberties, as before, to the burgages, extending "from the house formerly of John le Norreis, through the middle of Sywardesmor, to the royal way, which is called *Ykenildestrete*, situate on both sides of the way"; subject to the like rents as other burgages. The place, which had belonged to John le Norreis, was declared to be granted to the almoner of the monastery, for the time being, for the like rent of twelve pence; and it records that Richard le Webbe had two burgages in Sywardesmor, next to Robert de Swinsco, in exchange for one acre of meadow in Staniholm; he therefore was free from "farm" or

burgage-rent. The abbot and convent also grant a way of fifteen feet in breadth, from the new bridge toward Horninglowe, for the convenience of those burgages situate in Sywardesmor, which did not reach to the way afore-mentioned (namely, the Roman road called "Ykenildestrete"). The charter is sealed with the seals of the abbot and convent in white wax; now broken and damaged. Among the witnesses, the first-named is "Ralph de Burgo (or Boroughs), the steward of Burton." It is dated at Burton, "in the year 1286, 12 cal. May (20th April), in the fourteenth year of king Edward" the First. This charter is endorsed by an ancient hand "Houlaston", and by a hand comparatively modern "Sywardes moore".

(III.) "Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit frater Thomas permissione divina abbas Burton. super Trentam et totus ejusdem loci conventus salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos unanimi consensu pro nobis et successoribus nostris concessisse quod omnia burgagia a domo que fuit Johannis le Norreis per medium Sywardesmor usque ad regalem viam que vocatur Ykenildestrete ex utraque parte vie sita adeo sint libera in omnibus et per omnia sicut cetera burgagia ville antedicte. Habeantque tenentes eadem burgagia omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines infra burgum de Burton. et extra quas habent ceteri burgenses ejusdem ville nomine burgagiorum suorum. teneantque de nobis et successoribus nostris sibi et heredibus suis ac assignatis exceptis religiosis aliis a domo nostra et omnibus aliis per quorum ingressum nobis verisimiliter prejuditium aut dampnum poterit evenire. Reddendo pro singulis burgagiis nobis et successoribus nostris annuatim singulos duodecim denarios ad duos anni terminos scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis sex denarios. et ad Pascha sex denarios. Ita quod qui plura habuerit burgagia. plus quam burgagium vel minus. reddat secundum quantitatem terre. Placiam vero que fuit Johannis le Norreis que se extendit juxta predictam viam concessimus Elemosinario nostro qui pro tempore fuerit pro duodecim denariis annuatim ad predictos terminos nobis persolvendis. Habeantque tenentes in dicta placia libertates antedictas et teneant tenementa illa sibi et heredibus vel assignatis suis ut supradictum est imperpetuum. Et est sciendum quod Ricardus le Webbe habet duo burgagia in Sywardesmor propinquiora Roberto de Swinesco in escambium pro una acra prati quam habemus in Staniholm pro quibus nullam firmam nobis reddet annuatim. Et quia quedam burgagia sita sunt in Sywardesmor quorum nulla extremitas contingit viam antedictam ut tenentes liberum introitum et exitum habeant ad eadem quandam specialem assignavimus viam continentem quindecim pedes in

latitudine que a novo ponte versus Horninglowe se extendit ex utraque parte burgagiorum predictorum. Ut igitur hec omnia firmitatis robur optineant imperpetuum presens scriptum sigillorum nostrorum munimine roboravimus. Hiis testibus. Radulfo de Burgo tunc senescallo Burton. Willelmo Pichart de Neuton. Rogero Brayn de Wichenouer. Henrico filio Elye de Stretton. Johanne filio Johannis de Stapenhull. Willelmo filio Radulfi de eadem. Willelmo de bosco calumpniato et aliis. Dat. Burton. anno Domini millesimo ducent. octoges. sexto. xii. kl. Maii anno regni regis Edwardi quartodecimo."

Mr. Thornewill communicates the following remarks respecting the abbots whose charters are here printed:—

(I.) "Abbot Nicholas, the predecessor of this abbot (William of Melbourne) died 8 August 1197; and this abbot William died 8 August 1213. The date of this charter, therefore, is about the year 1200. He is stated to have built Horninglow Street, and to have granted the same to the burgesses of Burton; or, more correctly (as hereby appears), to the abbey tenants of the respective burgages in Horninglow Street. (See Shaw.) This, therefore, is the original charter for that purpose. Shaw says he also first obtained from king John (who is no doubt, therefore, the king whose charter is here referred to) a market at Burton weekly, on Thursdays; and a fair of three days' duration, commencing on the eve of the feast of St. Modwin. He is also stated to have given, for the use of the abbey kitchen, the mill of Siwardmore, mentioned in the charter made to the abbey tenants of East Street by abbot Thomas Packington."

(II.) "Abbot John was the builder of Monks' Bridge. He was of the Stretton family, who resided at Stretton, and took their name from that place; but he was generally called John Stafford, or of Stafford. He resigned the abbacy 19 Feb. 1280, after having presided over the abbey for twenty years."

(III.) "Shaw says that, in the sixth year of this Thomas Packington's abbacy, who was the successor of the above mentioned John Stafford, or John of Stretton, there was a great famine; on which account he built the Catte Street, through the middle of Siwarmore to Hickenel Street."

The other two documents are conveyances of burgage and other tenements in the town and elsewhere, by private parties. One is a charter of Robert de Bollenhull, dyer, of Burton-on-Trent, granting to sir Robert Flythe, of the same, chaplain, a half burgage, with the buildings standing thereon, and all other its appurtenances, in the town of Burton, lying between the land of Adam de Neuton on the one part, and the land of Walter Bele on the other, extending from the king's highway to "le Heyedich".

Dated on the Sabbath (Saturday) next after the nativity of St. John Baptist, 16 Edw. III (29 June 1342).

The other is a charter of Geoffrey de Okebroke, of Burton-on-Trent, chaplain, granting to Robert, son of Ralph le Lyster, of the same, all his tenements, lands, and meadows, with appurtenances, in the counties of Stafford and Derby, which he had of the gift and feoffment of Roger de Lyster. Foremost among the witnesses are, "Henry de Stanydelf, then steward of Burton", and "John de Worzinton, then bailiff of Burton". Dated on Tuesday the feast of the conception of the Virgin Mary, 23 Edw. III (8 Dec. 1349).

These documents have seals impressed in white wax, but scarcely intelligible.

(IV.) "Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Bollenhull. tinctor de Burton super Trent. dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi domino Roberto Flyth' capellano de eadem quoddam dimidium burgagium cum edificiis superastantibus et omnibus aliis ejus pertinent. in villa de Burton. predicta. Et jacet inter terram Ad. de Neuton ex una parte et terram Walteri Bele ex altera parte. Et extendit se in longitudine a regia via usque le Heyedich. Habend. et tenend. predictum dimidium burgagium cum edificijs superastantibus et omnibus alijs ejus pertin. ut predictum est: predicto domino Roberto Flyth' et heredibus vel assignatis suis quibuscunque de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debit. et de jure consuet. libere quiete bene et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus aysiamentis et pertin. ad predictum dimidium burgagium ubique spectantibus in perpetuum. Et ego vero predictus Robertus et heredes mei predictum dimidium burgagium cum edificiis superastantibus et omnibus aliis ejus pertin.: predicto Roberto Flyth' heredibus et assignatis suis ut predictum est: contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et in perpetuum defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Nicholao Mortimer ball. tunc de Burton: Roberto le Large: Roberto de Mere: Ricard. Catur': Joh. de Lynton: et alijs. Dat. apud Burton. super Trent. die sabat. proxima post festum nativitatis sancti Joh. bapt. anno regni regis Edwardi tercij a conquestu sextodecimo."

(V.) "Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Galfridus de Okebroke de Burton super Trent. capell. dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Roberto fil. Radulf. le Lyster de eadem omnia tenementa terras et prata mea cum pertin. in com. Stafford. et Derb. illas videlicet quas [*sic*] habui de dono et feoffament. Rogeri le Lyster. Habend. et tenend. omnia predicta tenementa terras et prata cum omnibus suis pertin. predicto Roberto heredibus et assignatis suis quibuscunque de capitalibus

dominis feodi illius per servic. inde debit. et de jure consuet. libere bene et in pace in perpetuum. Et ego vero predictus Galfridus et heredes mei omnia predicta ten. terr. et prat. cum omnibus suis pertin. predicto Roberto heredibus et assignatis suis quibuscunque ut predictum est contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et in perpetuum defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Hijs testibus: Henr. de Stanydelf tunc senescall. de Burton. Joh. de Worzinton ball. tunc de Burton: Willielmo de Stapenhull. Joh. de Oxn. Rog. de Asseburne et aliis. Dat. apud Burton die martis in festo conceptionis beate Marie virginis. anno regni regis Edwardi tercij a conquestu vicesimo tercio."

W. H. B.

Proceedings of the Association.

June 25, 1851.

The rev. Beale Poste communicated further remarks on the coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons. (See pp. 115-123 *ante*.)

T. J. Pettigrew, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., communicated contributions towards a history of the Society of Antiquaries, derived from the papers of the Spalding Gentleman's Society. (See pp. 143-158 *ante*.)

Llewellynn Jewitt, esq., exhibited a carved knife-handle (see accompanying cut, fig. 1) of morse ivory, belonging to Mr. Spence; upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming has favoured the Association with the following observations, "On a Knife-haft and Esquimaux Icons carved in Morse Ivory":

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

"Some months back (see pp. 31-37, and plate 11, *ante*), we had brought before us several examples of knife-hafts wrought out of pieces of morse

ivory, and Mr. Jewitt now kindly adds another specimen to those already exhibited. The knife-handle under consideration is of the sixteenth century, and differs, in certain details, from any which we have hitherto seen, although approximating in general design to one engraved in our *Journal*, vol. vii, p. 2, fig. 6. It is of better workmanship and smaller size than our other specimens, measuring only three inches in length. Its chief interest consists in its being a group, not of three figures, as is usually the case, but of four figures; and two of these being accompanied with novel attributes. All the icons are draped females; and we at once recognise Hope with her anchor; and Faith, holding in the right hand a small cross, and in the left an inscribed scroll or tablet. A third figure appears to grasp, with both hands, a little box or square cup. The fourth figure, however, offers the greatest novelty. She holds in her right hand an ambiguous-looking object, which has given rise to many conjectures regarding its purport: some affirming it to be a scourge; some, a noose or sling; some, a species of balance; others taking it for a rosary, others again for a pair of large forceps. All these suppositions are capable of being supported by apparently cogent arguments; but by comparing it with another specimen which shews the object more definitely, we have clearly ascertained that it is really a purse with very long cords, into which the left hand of the figure is descending, as if to take up money for distribution. It is, therefore, possible that the figure may be Charity dispensing her bounty. This lady with the purse is probably the same character who appears, on three or four of the specimens before exhibited, attended by children, like the classic representations of Juno Lucina. The figures are surmounted by a group of four heads, in a similar way to the knife-haft engraved in the *Journal*. It is altogether an example of considerable interest.

"The knife-haft which has thrown so much light upon the object in the hand of the figure in Mr. Jewitt's specimen, is worthy of more than a passing comment. This example is, however, not of ivory, but bone, and measures three inches and a half in length. It consists (see wood-cut, fig. 2), like the haft before alluded to, of four draped female figures, surmounted by the same number of heads. Faith holds her little cross and scroll; Hope, her anchor; Charity (if it be Charity), her purse; and the remaining image is playing on a gittern, cittern, or lute, the ectype of the more ancient *cithara*, and which is occasionally seen in the hands of angels in celestial choirs. Can this figure be emblematic of harmony? who, however, is usually represented with a viol. It is a type that we do not remember to have before noticed, and it is therefore of some interest. The specimen, which is evidently the work of the sixteenth century, is said to have been obtained at Rome; but nothing certain is known of its history. It is in the possession of my friend, Mr. Iliff, who kindly exhibits it to the Association.

"Whilst on the subject of morse ivory, I beg to introduce to your notice two very old examples of Esquimaux carving in this material, lately purchased at the sale of Mr. Thomas Dawson's museum. One specimen represents the white, or polar bear; the other, a seal. The former measures nearly three inches and a half in length; the latter, two inches and three quarters. The eyes, ears, nostrils, etc., are filled with some black substance. Martial (iii, 35), when noticing some fish wrought by Phidias, exclaims, in an ecstacy of admiration, "adde aquam, natabunt", "*give them water, and they will swim*". These carvings may not merit the same high compliment, but they are, nevertheless, most faithful portraits of the living animals, and well evince the skill of the Skrœlling sculptors of Behring's Straits."

W. Langton, esq., contributed some further notices connected with the Lathom family. (See *Original Documents*, pp. 415-420 *ante*.

July 9.

Henry Youens, esq., of Poplar, acquainted the Association that, upon looking over some out-houses connected with a farm at Plaistow in Essex, he noticed an ancient brick arch, which had evidently formed a gateway. Upon inquiry he ascertained that it had been the entrance to a convent; but of the particulars respecting it, he could not obtain any information. Over the gateway, in compartments, there is the following date and inscription on bricks let into the gate itself:

1 THIS	5 IS THE	7 GATE	5 OF EVER
LAS	TING	LI	FE

Thos. C. Archer, esq., of Chelmsford, exhibited a seal found in Essex, the inscription on which reads ✠ PODVVIRGINE ✠ NE : SINT BINITHOME.

Mr. F. J. Baigent laid before the Association some tracings of distemper paintings in the church of Goodworth, Clatford. Mr. Baigent had visited this church in 1847, and he now found that, since that period some of the whitewash had been removed, or rather fallen off, thereby exposing some paintings on the side-walls of the nave. Above the capital of the centre pillar on the north side, were the words, Ihesu Mercy, Lady help. These words are executed in a very free and bold style; and over them are slight indications of drapery, and a little higher up he found the Creed. Other parts of the wall are decorated with texts; and it is not improbable that if those were removed, something interesting

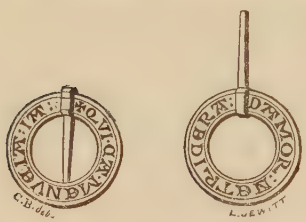
might be found. Mr. Baigent says: "The church is a perpendicular erection, with a square flint tower. At the west end of the nave, within the church, is a barbarism he has not elsewhere observed,—the splays and interior of all the windows, and other objects in the church, are marked round with black lines of about an inch and a half in width."

July 23.

Signor Gaetano Cara, director of the Royal Museum of Cagliari, communicated a tracing made from a thin plate of gold, representing a subject in Egyptian figures. This, together with an account of discoveries made of the ancient city of Tharros, by the canon Giovanni Spano, was referred to Mr. Pettigrew for examination. (See pp. 239-258 *ante.*)

Mr. Lister laid before the Association the original seal of the grammar-school at Ashbourne. This, together with the one now in use, was submitted to the congress held at Derby. (See p. 343 *ante.*)

Mr. Edward Dunthorne forwarded to the Association a gold brooch or bosom pin, lately found in a field at Brandish, Suffolk. It appears to be of earlier date than that figured in vol. i, p. 334, of the *Journal.* Mr. Dunthorne also forwarded a penny of Henry II, in good preservation, found at Dorrington, near Framlingham, yesterday. Also a heart-shaped tradesman's token, on which is inscribed, "Amos Fisher, 1668. His Halfpenny." On the reverse: "A. F. of Debenham." Similar-shaped tokens occur in the following in Mr. Dunthorne's possession:



"Thomas Cotton, of Middlewich. His Halfpenny."

Reverse: "Although but brass,
Yet let me pass. 1669."

"Roger Dickinson." *Reverse:* "Of Robinhood Bay. His Halfpenny."

"Thomas Strowger of Stradbroke."

Of other forms, Mr. Dunthorne has:

"Wm. Daggett of Ipswich." (Square-shaped.)

"John Catlin of Ipswich." (Octagon.)

"Tamworth Chamberlains." (Ditto.)

"Send me to the Mercer of Knodshall." (Ditto.)

"John Michel, Little Somers Key, near Billingstoke." (Ditto.)

John Joseph Briggs, esq., of King's Newton, presented to the Association a tile, on which are inscribed the letters of the alphabet in Lombardic

characters. It was found in a stable in Derbyshire, and was reported to have been brought from Repton Priory. It may be considered as of the thirteenth century. Two others similar are to be seen in Morley church.

August 18-23.

Eighth Annual Congress at Derby.—For papers and proceedings, see p. 179 *et seq.*

Sept. 3.

Mr. Warren, of Ixworth, laid before the Association the impression from an old leaden seal, which he reads: "Seal of Adrian Fitzwarren". It is right to observe, that the person from whom Mr. Warren obtained the seal had attempted to clean it, and in so doing defaced the letter R,—if that be the letter between those of A and I in Warini. Mr. Warren also communicated to the Association, that he had "lately met with a penny of Henry III, reading on the obverse, HENRICUS, REX ANG.; and on the reverse, LIE TERCI LON.; which he considered a very rare type; and that he had also bought an old gold ring, which he regarded as Saxon, both by the colour of the gold and the workmanship. It is in a kind of filigree work: some part of it is of square wire, twisted and laid side by side, so as to form a herring-bone pattern, similar to the ring No. 7, plate XIX, in Akerman's *Archæological Index;* but it is not set with any thing, nor is there a letter on it. It was found near to Coggeshall in Essex."

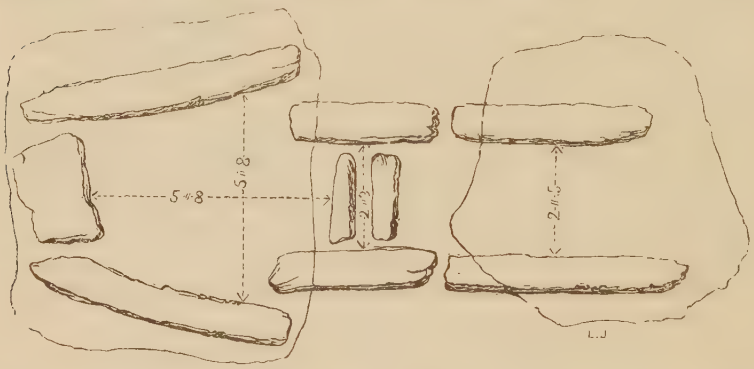
J. R. Planché, esq., F.S.A., exhibited the impression of a silver seal, found recently in Shropshire, and at present in the possession of the rev. W. H. Massie, of St. Mary's Hill, Chester. It represents the figure of a lady, in the costume of the thirteenth century, holding two shields; on the one in her right hand is a lion rampant, and on that in her left two lions passant. The inscription, "S. Hawisie Dne de Keveoloc". It appears to be the seal of Hawisia, daughter of Owain de Kevelioc, who, Mr. Massie, in his letter accompanying the impression, states to have been living in Edward I and II's time. "She was princess of Powys, and really proprietress of Kevelioc, by inheritance from her father Owain, whose arms were a lion rampant. Pennant speaks of her as 'the Hardy'." The shield

bearing the two lions passant is presumed to be the arms of Le Strange; but this point can only be settled by an examination of the pedigree of the family. The seal is of the oval or *vessie de poisson* shape, a little broken at one end, but the sharpness of the engraving remarkably well preserved.

J. Adey Repton, esq. forwarded some observations on urns found in barrows, together with a diagram, giving such sections of them as may serve to assist in finding broken urns in a ploughed field. These observations have been referred for future publication and illustration.

September 24.

Thomas Bateman, esq., made known to the Association, that he had a few days since cleared out the most complete and best preserved cist he ever saw, but found that some one had been before him. It is large, being near six feet in length; about the same in width in the largest part; and is about five feet high; covered in with an immense stone, and furnished with a smaller adjoining chamber or gallery.



The above cut gives the form and the outer lines representing the covering stones, which, as well as all the other stones used in the construction of the cists, are of exceedingly great size and weight.

Llewellynn Jewitt, esq. exhibited to the Association a beautiful ring, which was found a few years since amid the ruins of the priory of Frithelstoke, near Great Torrington, in North Devon, and probably belonged to the superior of that religious house. It is of solid gold, having a diamond in the centre. The emblems are evidently typical of the Holy Trinity, Our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and St. Thomas à Becket. In a trefoiled recess, each portion of which represents one of the persons of the Trinity, is a beautiful diamond, cut in the form of an equilateral triangle, and signifying Trinity. On one side is the Virgin and infant Jesus. At the back of the ring is the cinque-foiled flower,

emblematical of the five wounds of our Lord; while the other device represents St. Thomas à Becket celebrating high mass before an altar, on which lies his mitre, the chalice, etc. Above is seen a sword descending on his head. This elegant relic of ancient times is in the possession of Charles Spence, esq., of the Admiralty, Devonport.

Frederic C. Lukis, esq., communicated, that since his return to Guernsey, he had been engaged in examining a sepulchral cave in the same locality as some discovered by him in 1845, of which a short account may be found in the *Journal*, vol. i, p. 303. Mr. Lukis kindly promises to furnish the Association with a particular account of the cave he has now examined, as there are some peculiarities which deserve recording. A separate article on the Stone Period Instruments will be obligingly communicated by this able antiquary for the next volume of the *Journal*.

October 17.

This day the Association commenced the first of a series of visits for the Inspection of Antiquities in the City of London. The members and visitors assembled in the Guildhall, and thence proceeded to the Exchequer Court, where the chair was taken, in the unavoidable absence of the president, by T. J. Pettigrew, esq., vice-president, and after a statement relative to the objects to be visited, the order to be maintained in their examination, etc., by the chairman, papers were successively read respecting them:—

i. On the several parts of London that escaped the great fire of 1666, by Alfred White, esq.
ii. On Guildhall, by Thomas Brewer, esq.
iii. On the crypts and undercrofts beneath modern London, by Thomas Lott, esq., F.S.A.
iv. On the crypt beneath Bow church, by Chas. Baily, esq., F.S.A.

Examination was then made of the old Lord Mayor's Court, now the Exchequer Court, the Council Chambers, the Great Hall, the Library, Museum, Crypt, etc. of the Guildhall; inspection of the charters and

records of the corporation; Bow church, its crypt examined under the direction of George Gwilt, esq.; the undercroft, in the premises of Messrs. Groucock, in Bow churchyard; St. Mary Aldermary, and the crypt at Gerard's Hall, in Basing Lane.

A report of the examination of the city antiquities will be given in the next volume of the *Journal*, with illustrations; to promote which, the following members liberally subscribed each a donation of £1:—T. F. Armistead, esq., A. Ashpitel, esq., C. Baily, esq., T. F. Baily, esq., C. Bridger, esq., W. A. Combs, esq., R. H. Cullum, esq., F. H. Davis, esq., H. Ducsbury, esq., John Ellis, esq., N. Gould, esq., R. Horman-Fisher, esq., Thomas Lott, esq., W. Newton, esq., T. J. Pettigrew, esq., S. R. Solly, esq., Edward Stock, esq., R. Tress, esq., W. Wansey, esq., A. White, esq., W. Yewd, esq.

After the examination of the antiquities, a large party dined together at Gerard's Hall; and many remarks were made in the course of the evening by Thomas Saunders, esq., F.S.A., comptroller of the city of London; — Waterlow, esq., chairman of city lands; J. B. Bunning, esq., city architect; — Heywood, esq., surveyor of city sewers; Thomas Brewer, esq., of the city of London schools, etc.

November 12.

Mr. Thos. Sherratt, jun., exhibited a pardon to sir Edward Mountagu, knight, and Edward Mountagu, esq., for acquiring the manor of Rayne-halle, *alias* Little Rayne, *alias* Wells-halle and Stebbing, in Essex (by fine levied in Trinity Term, 42° Elizabeth), without royal license first had for such alienations. Dated at Westminster, 7 Feb., 45° Elizabeth (1603), with the great seal attached, in white wax. On the back is a note stating that both this patent and the conveyance of the estate were enrolled in the memoranda of the Exchequer, Hilary Term, 45° Elizabeth.

J. B. Scott, esq., exhibited some fragments of Roman pottery, together with coins of Claudius Gothicus and Tetricus, lately found in New Cannon-street.

Mark Antony Lower, esq., of Lewes, exhibited an outline drawing of the Rhine-cup, or hock-kettle, of archbishop Laud, now in the possession of his collateral descendant, Robert Willis Blencowe, of the Hooke, co. Sussex, esq., who has some other relics of the prelate. It is of silver-gilt, and of exquisite design and workmanship; the weight upwards of fifty ounces. The four compartments contain emblematical representations of the seasons. Upon the lid is a masterly statuette of the river-god Rhine, with his urn and oar. The whole is evidently the production of an able artist, probably a German.

Mr. F. J. Baigent forwarded to the Association the drawing of a sepul-

chral cross, lately discovered in St. James's burying-ground, Winchester, accompanied by the following remarks :—

"About a quarter of a mile without the West-gate of the city of Winchester, on the brow of the hill, is a burying-ground, well known to Catholics throughout the breadth of the country, both for its antiquity and sanctity, as well as for the not boastful fact, that within its precincts there lies not one who died not a member of their church.

"On the 18th of September last, in digging a grave near the north-east corner of this ground, about four feet below the surface, was found the cross represented in the accompanying drawing. It bears evident marks of long exposure to the weather, notwithstanding the almost perfect state in which it was discovered; it is probably the workmanship of about the middle of the thirteenth century, and appears to be of the Isle of Wight stone. The stone is five inches and a half thick; the interior of the circles in front are sunk, at the back they are indicated only by incised lines.

"There was formerly in this ground a church, dedicated to the apostle whose name it bears. From the Anglo-Saxon period, to that of the change of religion in this country, all the monks of the cathedral, Hyde Abbey, and the rest of the communities in the neighbourhood, were in the practice of going thither in a body at stated times, especially on Palm Sunday, to perform a stated service. The foundation of the church is still to be met with in digging near the centre of the ground; numbers of encaustic tiles are turned up occasionally; and some years since there was found a chalice and paten. After the Reformation, the earliest instance of interment on record is that of Nicholas Tychebourne, esq., who died a prisoner for his faith in Winchester jail after a long imprisonment, having suffered the spoliation of all his property, on 25th July 1589. Some of the stones still remaining are of the beginning of the seventeenth century; one as early as 1607. On several it is stated the parties were buried here at their own particular request: for instance, the following (of the same family just mentioned)—"*Heare lieth interred Gilbart Tichbourne, Esq., aged four-score and sixteen yeares, who died Dec. 20th,* 1636, *and desired that his body might be buried here.*" This Gilbart Tichbourne was the eldest brother to sir Benjamin, the first baronet, who was thrice high sheriff of

Hants, and the first to proclaim James I king of England. It may not be out of place to mention the name of some who sleep beneath its turf, several of whom belonged to the highest Catholic families, who are now extinct:—the rev. Paul Atkinson, who died Oct. 15th, 1729, in his seventy-fourth year, in Hurst castle,[1] after an imprisonment of thirty years, for having performed the Roman Catholic service, called mass. Bernard Howard[2] (Norfolk), Talbot, Arundell, Stonor, Jerningham, Bellasyfe, Sheldon, Wells, Wyborn, Corham, Mannock, Curzon, Mornington, Challoner, Spenser, Lucy, Berry, etc.

Llewellynn Jewitt, esq., exhibited a bone pin, which was found, with some flint instruments and bones, in a cave at Torbay, Devonshire. It is engraved of the full size of the original, and is of curious form, the upper part being flattened, and ornamented with incised lines.

F. W. L. Ross, esq., of Broadway House, Topsham, Devon, exhibited a sketch of a pair of brass snuffers now in his collection, which appear to be of an earlier date than those represented on page 162 *ante*. They are of a similar form; but there appear no traces of their ever having had a cover. On the under side there is the stamp or mark. Mr. Ross also added a drawing of a pair of brass tongs of the same period, measuring seven inches in length.

November 26.

Thos. Bateman, esq., acquainted the Association that he had met with a small fragment of chain-mail, which was dug up in Staffordshire about fifty years since. When first found, it was a considerable piece, but has been cut to fragments to give away to different persons as a mere curiosity. The nephew to the farmer who found it, presented a portion to him. It differs from that figured in vol. i, p. 142, of the *Journal*, by the late sir Samuel Meyrick, in having the joining of the rings secured by one rivet only, and in the

[1] Hurst castle is near Lymington, situated at the extremity of a narrow strip of land, which projects more than two miles into the sea.

[2] To this person was addressed (who lived at Winchester) the order to proclaim king James II, and by him communicated to the mayor.

size of rings being somewhat smaller. Considering the rarity of any genuine examples of this kind of English armour, Mr. Bateman kindly forwarded it to the Association, and a representation of it is given in the preceding page. It is well to remark, that the rings are joined as there represented, the longer side of the rivet being on the back.

T. N. Brushfield, esq., exhibited drawings of an amulet of bone, with gold studs, lately found at Driffield, in Yorkshire, by Mr. Bowman; also a piece of bone found in the hand of a skeleton, to which had been attached a thin iron ball, and a long thin strip of iron and wood; but as these objects have been laid, together with a particular account of them by lord Londesborough, before the Society of Antiquaries, the Council of the Association forbear to make further mention of these interesting relics.

William Kelly, esq., honorary secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Leicester, obligingly favoured the Association, through Mr. Planché, with the following account of excavations lately made in that city:—

"The archæological section of this society having had excavations made near the junction of the fosse road with the ancient *via vicinalis* leading into the western part of this town, which have resulted in the discovery of the remains of a Roman villa, I beg to forward you particulars of the operations carried on, as they will probably be interesting to the members of the Archæological Association.

"The following account was drawn up by Mr. Walker, architect, from the notes made by him during the progress of the excavations, which he has kindly undertaken to superintend on behalf of the section, of which he is a member:—

"'It is well known that Leir-Castrum was an important station while the Romans occupied Britannia, and that it is situate within a few hundred yards to the south south-east of the ancient Roman road, the Fosse-way, about twelve miles from High Cross, the ancient Bennones, where it crosses Watling-street. This station was also called *Ratæ*, probably from the ancient British *Rath*, signifying a place protected by woods and other natural defences. It is precisely in such a position that such ancient remains as those now laid open might be expected to be found.

"'In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October 1786, is a letter from the historian of Leicestershire, on this subject, to the following effect:—

"'*Roman pavement lately found at Leicester.*—Having had occasion to enquire a little into the antiquities of Leicester, I was favoured by a friend with the enclosed drawing (see pl. 1) of a Roman tessellated pavement, found about three years ago near that ancient town, accompanied with the following authentic particulars by a gentleman whose accuracy is well known.

"'The Roman Foss-road', says my friend, 'you well know, is west of the town; about seventy-five yards east of which is this pavement, in

a large close planted chiefly with cherry trees (perhaps eighty years ago), and called the cherry orchard. On grubbing up the roots of one of the cherry trees, the pavement was discovered. About the place where the tree was set, the object is much (I may say totally) defaced; owing, I suppose, to the barbarian's spade: the root still remains in the ground, and how far the pavement goes is at present uncertain. The gentleman to whom this orchard belongs, dug yesterday in a northern direction about two yards from the part discovered, and found a continuation of it.—J. N.'

"'The plate given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* represents a centre pattern, consisting of three rows of interlaced circles, about midway down the drawing, with a stripe on each side of four rows of darker-coloured tessellæ, and a light ground; the remaining portion of the centre pattern having narrow stripes formed into hexagonal figures in the middle. The interlaced circles seem to be executed in small tessellæ, the remainder in tessellæ about four times the size of the others.

"'Several very beautiful tessellated pavements having been discovered in the town, and some having been presented to, and removed by the authorities of, the town museum, a great anxiety has been for some time manifested to try and discover the one figured in the periodical referred to, and copied both by Nichols and Throsby, in their respective histories of the county; the members of the archæological section have therefore commenced operations on an extensive scale, having previously satisfied themselves that a tessellated pavement existed near the spot indicated by Mr. Nichols. Instead, however, of finding one of the pattern figured in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a pavement was bared on the first day of the operations about fifteen feet square, consisting of tessellæ about one inch square, of two colours, grey and red; the centre representing two interlaced squares of four courses of red tessellæ, within two larger squares—one of five, the other and outer one of four courses—of red. This not agreeing with the one given, a further search was made, and to the north of this, at about twenty-four feet from its axis, a very beautiful semicircular pattern was disclosed, executed in very small tessellæ of four colours, viz., blue, red, brown-pink, and white, representing in the centre a shell pattern, in the two divisions of which, next the line of the diameter of the semicircle, are dolphins swimming towards the centre. This shell pattern is bounded all round by the guilloche ornament, outside of which is a vandyke of black and white, bounded by stripes of grey and red tessellæ, about one inch square. On the south-western side of this pavement, a stone pedestal was found laid carefully down on the tessellæ, which were uninjured under it; this pedestal seems to be executed in Ketton stone, and is three feet five inches high, and consists of a *quasi*-Attic base nine inches high, a shaft one foot six inches and three-quarters high, diminished upwards, an astragal and neck, together about four inches high, and a

capital with square abacus eight inches and a quarter high; in both the top and bottom bed is a dowel-hole about two inches square. This pedestal has been presented by Dr. Noble to the museum, where it is now deposited. Eastward of the semicircular pavement, and about sixteen feet from its centre, a rich border in fine tessellæ was discovered, which seems to have been the boundary of this apartment, making the whole length about twenty-eight feet, and the whole width about eighteen feet. A little further to the north, another pavement was found, consisting of a chess-board pattern, in red and grey, bounded by two squares of red; the whole pavement being fourteen feet square.

"'Still, Mr. Nichols's pattern not having been found, the excavations were continued, when a pavement, upwards of fifty-six feet in length by seven feet eight inches and a half in breadth, was found to the north-east of the last mentioned, consisting of alternate squares of red and grey tessellæ, about one inch square, bounded on each side by a grey and a red stripe; the axis of this pavement is at right angles, or nearly so, to that of the first three mentioned, and about three feet lower in level, having a rapid fall to the east. At the upper end of this pavement, the plaster of the sides of the corridor still remains, and, most singular to say, with no solid wall behind it, but it seems to be rendered against the ground. Another long pavement was found at right angles to this, and parallel with the three first named, about eight feet wide; but the length has not yet been ascertained. It commences about ten feet from the axis of the last-mentioned, and consists of a row of interlaced circles three feet one inch in diameter, of two courses of red tessellæ, bounded by grey and red stripes, executed in tessellæ one inch square. The centre pattern suddenly changes into hexagonal figures, of the same shape as shown by Nichols, and commences against the circles in the same way; but as one row of circles only is found, and as Nichols figures three rows, it is considered that the one he mentions remains still to be found.

"'Various opinions have been offered as to the uses to which the building may have been put; and whether the remains are those of a villa, a temple, or a public bath, it is at present most difficult to decide.

"'We should be inclined to pronounce in favour of the former, and that the pedestal supported one of the lares or penates; that the apartment with the apsidal termination was a vestibule; and that the most important part of the discoveries has yet to be made. It is rather remarkable that no foundations of either main or partition walls have yet been found, except one of an angular shape, to the north of the main line of apartments; near to which a hollow pipe, fifteen inches long, filled with concrete, and of an oblong section, the corners being rounded off, was found standing on end, and it is considered *in situ*, with two oblong holes in two of its sides, the other two sides being scored diamond-wise in stripes about one inch broad. Various fragments of these

tiles or pipes had been found, but the discovery of one in its perfect state was a most fortunate circumstance; it seems to have been only part of a higher pillar, as it had a mortar joint on its top bed, and must have helped to support a tessellated pavement.'

"Since the preceding account was written, the pavement figured in Nichols' history of the county has been exposed at the southern extremity of the pavement last mentioned. It is, however, in a very imperfect state.

"Numerous pieces of plastering have been met with, some painted red, and others bearing the impression of reeds; also many fragments of common pottery, but no specimens of Samian ware, nor any bearing the stamp of the potter's name. Four coins only have been discovered,—all third brass of the lower empire.

"The excavations are still in progress, and it is hoped that further remains may yet be found.

"The expense of the works (which is defrayed out of the funds of the Society) being considerable, it has been determined to make an appeal to the inhabitants of the town, in order that funds may be obtained for removing the pavement to the town museum; and it is hoped that this will be liberally responded to.

"It may be well to add that, in addition to the above, not less than twenty tessellated pavements are recorded to have been discovered in Leicester at various periods, most of which have unfortunately been destroyed. It is hoped that a more enlightened taste will now prevail, and prevent such barbarous destruction being perpetrated in future. The archæological section have recently had a map of the town prepared upon a large scale, for the purpose of laying down upon it the sites of all discoveries of Roman remains hitherto made, or which may hereafter occur; and as the works for the sewerage of the town will be shortly commenced, it is anticipated that numerous and valuable discoveries will then be made."

The Council hope, either through Mr. Kelly, Mr. Walker, or Mr. Thompson, to be able to give further particulars of the excavations intended to be made, and also to obtain a ground-plan of the villa, by which it may be more clearly understood.

T. J. Pettigrew, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., read a paper on ancient Chinese vases, which will appear, with illustrations, in the next volume of the *Journal*.

— Bridger, esq., of Mitcham, exhibited, through John Ellis, esq., a sword, spear-head, and part of an iron boss of a shield, of early (Saxon?) form, found while trenching in a field near Mitcham, in Surrey, called Deadman's Close. Bones had been frequently found in this field, and tradition made it the site of a battle-field. These remains were directed to be examined and arranged for further notice.

December 10.

Mr. F. J. Baigent, of Winchester, exhibited a copy of part of an illuminated pedigree of the Tichborne family, dated 1623, and presenting an instance of the reversal of an escutcheon in consequence of an attainder in the person of William Wandesford, only son of Thomas Wandesford, alderman of London, "convictus et attinctus in parliamenti, anno 1 Ed. IV". His eldest sister, Johanna, married Thomas Tichborne, and his second sister, Alice, Thomas Louth. The arms are: *or;* a lion rampant, *azure;* a crescent, *gules*, for difference.

Thos. E. Cavanagh, esq., of Wexford, Ireland, exhibited a spur found in a house in that city, reported to be that in which Cromwell slept, and which had formerly been castellated. The spur was apparently of the time of Philip and Mary; and Mr. Planché observed that it bore some resemblance to a specimen in the collection at Goodrich Court, described by sir S. Meyrick as a Spanish-Moorish spur. The intercourse between Spain and Ireland rendered the conclusion to be drawn from the resemblance a perfectly reasonable one.

John Adey Repton, esq., F.S.A., communicated some observations on early church windows, accompanied by a variety of illustrations, which are necessarily deferred until the next *Journal*.

Charles Bridger, esq., laid before the Association a considerable number of rubbings from brasses in the churches of the city of London, which were directed to be arranged and introduced into the intended reports on city antiquities.

Llewellynn Jewitt, esq., exhibited a silver thumb-ring. It was found at Exeter within the last few months. The seal bears the letters L. G. on a shield surrounded by the name LAUREUS. The ring is now in the possession of William Jacobson, esq., of Exeter.

Notices of New Publications.

Ædes Hartwellianæ, or Notices of the Manor and Mansion of Hartwell. By Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N., K.S.F., D.C.L., F.R.S., etc. Lond. 1851. 4to. *Privately Printed.*

The history of Hartwell cannot but be interesting. It lies on the high road to Oxford, and is about a mile distant from Aylesbury. The name of the manor is supposed to take its rise from *herde-welle*, a spring to quench the thirst of cattle, whilst others conjecture it to arise immediately from *hart* and *well*, this locality being long celebrated for its quantity of deer. What however strengthens this supposition, is the discovery of a rebus seal on some of the old documents in the muniment room, relating to this property, representing a hart drinking at a well. We give, by the kindness of our respected associate and vice-president, Dr. Lee, the owner of this property, the representation of a seal attached to a grant of land of the 12° Elizabeth, dated Aug. 21, 1570, by Michael Hampden to William Flameborow (fig. 1). On the back of the deer appears the crest of the Hampdens of Hartwell, a peacock's head. Sir Charles Young, Garter King at Arms, has furnished a variation of the rebus, found on a Visitation Record, of the date of 1613; although he is of opinion that it is of an earlier period (fig. 2). A park *vert*, palisaded *or*, a hart lodged, and a well *argent*, the wreath *or* and *gules*.

Fig. 1.

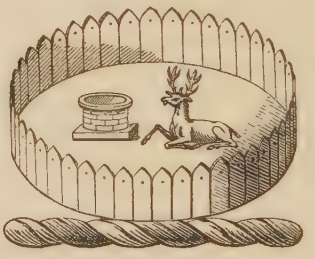


Fig. 2.

Hartwell must have been the station of the Britons called *Cattieuchlani*, and formed the centre of the district *Flavia Cæsariensis* of the Romans. It has, however, yielded but few specimens of antiquity. In 1842, several skeletons of men and horses, with two or three corroded third-brass coins of the Lower Empire, one of Mezentius, were found, when lowering the high road near Stone; and a large Byzantine bronze fibula

had been discovered by a labourer in an adjacent spot in 1840. The nearest Roman station to Hartwell of any importance, according to Capt. Smyth, seems to have been the well-chosen one at Whitworth. In the summer of 1850, traces of extensive Anglo-Roman sepulture were discovered in opening the foundations for a county lunatic asylum, about a couple of furlongs west of the village of Stone. The principal feature consisted of two pit shafts, containing funereal pottery, similar to those described by Mr. Diamond in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii, p. 451. Mr. Akerman has described the relics found on this examination. — See *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv, p. 21.)

The successive lords of the manor of Hartwell, from the Conquest to the present time, consist of Peverel, de Hertewell, Luton, Hampden, and Lee. The goodliest shares of the district at and round Hartwell being wrested from the possession of Thane Alwyn, were bestowed by the Conqueror upon his natural son,—or, as sir Walter Scott has it, his supposed son,—William Peverel; on his brother Odo, the noted bishop of Baieux; and on his favourite gonfalon, Walter Giffard, who became earl of Buckingham. The principal manor at Hartwell was that of Peverel, consisting of six hides and three virgates; the bishop of Baieux had four hides (three held under him by Helto, and one by Robert); Walter Giffard, two hides; William the Chamberlain, two hides; and Walter de Vernon, half a hide (p. 44).

The lands of the Peverels were seized by Henry II, in 1155, and granted to his son John, earl of Mortaigne. On the accession of that prince to the throne, the honour of Peverel became annexed to the crown; in which it always after continued. Soon after the accession of John, the manor of Hartwell appears in the possession of a feudatory tenant, who seems to have derived his name from the place. In 1201, Walter de Hertwelle gave the king three marks for the sentage of one knight, held of the honour of Peverel; and in 1205, Barrabas, the son of Walter, gave forty marks as his relief to receive the same knight's fee, which was then in the king's hand, by the death of Walter, his father. Barrabas was succeeded by William de Hertwell, whose name is to be found in the *Testa of Nevill;* and who left issue another William, who in 1254, was in the wardship of Ralph Fitz-Nicholas. At the inquisition made before the justices itinerant in the county of Buckingham, in 39° Hen. III (1256), the jurors of the hundred of Stanes returned, that the town of Hertwelle was of the honour of Peverel, and was held in chief of the king, and the heir was in the custody of Ralph Fitz-Nicholas by the gift of the king; and the men thereof did suit of court to his honour, and gave yearly for all dues eight shillings; and the bailiffs held pleas of the unjust driving of cattle, and the view of frank pledge, and had the return of the king's writs; and the manor was estimated at six hides and a half, and had enjoyed the same liberties in the time of king

Henry, the grandfather of the king that now is.—*Rotuli Hundred.* fol., 1812, p. 31.

In Edward I (1276), on an inquisition made respecting ancient rights and liberties of the crown, which had been discontinued, and other like matters, it was returned that Alice de Luton and William her son held the manor of Hertwelle, and that the same manor had been wont to pay to frankpledge, but now that payment was commuted for the sum of eight shillings paid at the Exchequer. Among the documents in Dr. Lee's muniment room there is an undated charter of William, son of William de Hertwelle, conveying the manor and appurtenances to Alice de Luton and William her son; the seal of which is inscribed, "s' WILL'I DE HERTWELL". There are also two original patents of Henry III, dated Nov. 18, 1270, and April 10, 1271, as well as a final concord levied in Easter term of that year, 55° Henry III; all relating to the transfer of the estate from the family of Hartwell into that of Luton. Among the ancient archives there is also a very neat little charter of "Robertus Luyton, dominus de Hertwelle", dated the Sunday of the feast of the decollation of St. John Baptist, 49° Edward III, with the seal of arms perfect, inscribed, "SIGILL' ROB'TI LUTONE". These documents are of great interest and importance, as shewing one of the most important occurrences by which the present line of succession is virtually connected. Sir Robert de Luton, the last of his family, was knight of the shire for the county of Buckingham in the parliaments of 1387 and 1390. The estate remained in the Luton family about one hundred and sixty years, when it passed into the Hampden's by the marriage of John Hampden of Kimball to Eliza, daughter of Agnes, only daughter of Eleanor de Luton. The Hampdens retained possession of Hartwell upwards of one hundred and eighty years. Sir Alexander Hampden (a cousin of the patriot), having no surviving issue, made a testament in favour of his sister Eleanor, married to sir Thomas Lee, knight, of Earl Claydon and Morton, in Ditton; by which she became heiress both of her father and brother, and brought their manor and estate into the possession of that ancient family. This lady married at the age of sixteen, and had twenty-four children. She died April 6, 1633.

The Lees were a Cheshire family; but the time of their introduction into the neighbourhood of Hartwell appears uncertain. The brasses at Dinton church prove it to have been of an earlier period than has been assigned. Thomas Lee, son of sir Thomas and Eleanor, was high sheriff of Bucks in the 4° Charles I. He married Jane, daughter of sir George Throckmorton of Fulbrook, and had issue a son, Thomas, his heir. He married, in 1632, Elizabeth, second daughter of the hon. sir George Croke, knight, celebrated as a justice of the court of King's Bench, and whose reports have been considered of high authority to the present day. The third, Thomas, died in 1644, having several children, the eldest of

whom, a zealous royalist, represented the borough of Aylesbury in the Convention Parliament; and who, as a reward for his services, was raised to the rank of a baronet, and also created a knight of the Bath. He died in 1690, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, who also represented Aylesbury in parliament; and married Alice, daughter and co-heir of Thos. Hopkins, esq., citizen and merchant of London, by whom he had several children. Of these, their eminent services and distinguished ability, in various ways, there is an account in a manuscript by Browne Willis, preserved in the Bodleian Library. The third baronet, Thomas, succeeded to the estate in 1702. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thos. Sandys, esq., of London, by whom he had two sons and a daughter: Anne, who married George Venables Vernon, afterwards created lord Vernon of Kinderton; Thomas, who died at the age of eighteen; and William, who inherited the property and honours, as fourth baronet, in 1749. Sir William married lady Elizabeth Harcourt, only daughter of Simon, earl Harcourt, and was succeeded by his son William, the fifth baronet, on the 6th July 1799, who pursued a military life, and died, in 1801, unmarried. He was succeeded by his brother, sir George Lee, sixth baronet, who was originally intended for the medical profession, but he entered into holy orders in 1792, and was presented to the rectory of Hartwell and the vicarage of Stone, which preferments he vacated in 1803 for the rectory of South Repps, Norfolk. He ultimately became rector of Beachampton, where he died September 27, 1827; and in him the male line of the first baronet, and consequently the baronetcy, became extinct. Dying without issue, he bequeathed the estates, etc. to the next heir male in blood, the present John Lee, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., etc., an active and zealous vice-president of the British Archæological Association; distinguished alike for his deep regard for the advancement of science, and knowledge of letters, as by his undeviating efforts to relieve his poorer fellow creatures, and improve their condition. He is the representative of both branches of the Lee family, and holds the estates of Hartwell in Bucks, Totteridge in Middlesex, and Colworth in Bedfordshire.

It will be interesting to the antiquary to learn that the various documents relating to Hartwell are now in course of arrangement by our associate, W. H. Black, esq., of the Rolls House; and that it is intended to class them under the following heads: 1, Charters of feoffment, and deeds of various kinds, from the time of king John (or earlier) to the present time; 2, Royal patents, pardons, and grants, from Henry III to George III; 3, Fines and Inquisitions from A.D. 1293; 4, Chirographs of fines, and exemplifications of fines, recoveries, and outlawry, from Henry VII to George III; 5, Court rolls of manors from Edward II to the present time; 6, Rentals in rolls and books for Hartwell, Stone, Bishopstone, and Little Hampden, from Edward I to the present time;

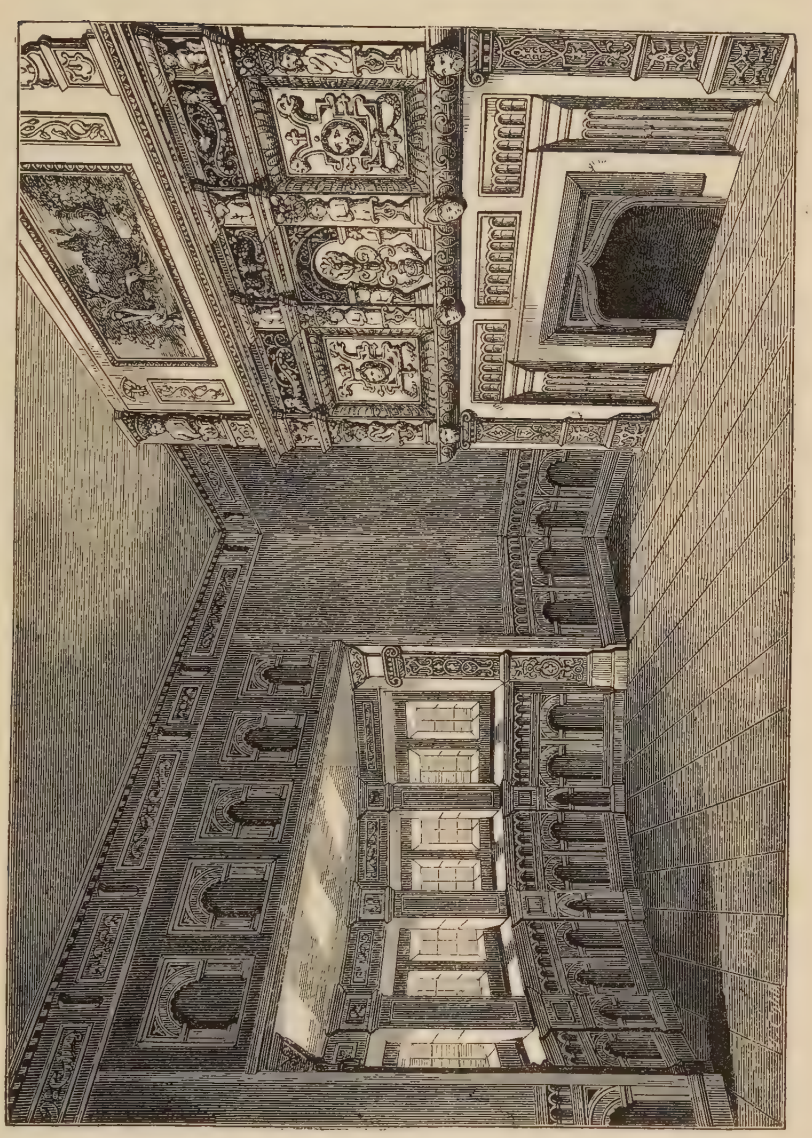
7, Leases and counterparts, from Elizabeth, or earlier; 8, Maps, plans, and surveys, or terriars, of estates; 9, Wills and administrations, from Edward IV, or earlier; 10, Old copies of inquisitions, *post mortem*, from Henry VIII to Elizabeth; 11, Proceedings in law and equity, from Charles II to the present time; 12, Assessments on the three hundreds of Aylesbury. They are, together with various other interesting papers, deposited in the muniment room, of which, by the kindness of Dr. Lee, a representation is annexed.

Hartwell House still retains a large portion of its ancient structure, although it has undergone many changes and alterations. Capt. Smyth says: "It was erected on the site of one much older, by sir Thomas Lee, who, acquiring the estate *de jure uxoris*, in 1570, expended a large sum of money, and evinced much taste, in the undertaking. He was, however, fortunate in commencing at a time when Inigo Jones was widely diffusing that domestic architectural judgment which had made its appearance among us in the days of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey, who both delighted in rearing palaces; and who, aided by Hans Holbein, opened out the composite of Roman and Gothic styles, which obtained such popularity in England as the *Elizabethan*." (p. 102.)

Capt. Smyth has given an excellent account of the several apartments, the chief pictures which ornament the walls, and the contents of the admirably-stored library, both in volumes of printed books and manuscripts. Of the latter, the collection is large, and particularly rich in the Oriental department, many of which were purchased by Dr. Lee when in the Levant, and in the acquisition of which he had the advantage of the assistance of the lamented traveller Burckhardt. Nor must the museum or observatory be omitted: the former contains many curious and interesting objects in natural history and antiquity; and the latter, every appurtenance necessary for astronomical inquiry and observation.

In the numismatic collection at Hartwell are to be found many rare specimens. On this subject the reader will be glad to let so competent an authority as captain Smyth speak for himself:—

"A well selected series of coins and medals forms the most appropriate and powerful adjunct which a library can receive, since they make an agreeable and faithful key to instruction for the student of the Greek and Latin historians, poets, geographers, and philosophers, as well in unequivocally certifying events and dates, as in illustrating ancient arts, emblems, and monuments, without misrepresentation. It is true, that a mere *furor numismaticus* may often exhibit the trifling acquisitiveness of sciolous enthusiasts; but such a possibility should never be allowed to tamper with the approaches to useful knowledge. The true antiquary will steer equally clear of a puerile attachment to, and an ignorant prejudice against, medals; feelings which have long formed the very Scylla and Charybdis of numismatology.



Muniment Room, Hartwell House.

"Men of profound learning have found reason to regret a want of knowledge in medals, while very expert numismatists have often yearned for scholarship; yet, instead of rowing together, the man of dactyls and spondees holds the collector to be a trifler, and the latter returns his superciliousness by deriding the pedantic book-worm. Now, in order to illustrate the progress of man from early ages, erudition and knowledge must unite their forces to arrive at satisfactory results: the one class may be consciously proud of inductive endowment, and the other value itself on perseverance and experience; but, as Sharon Turner has impressively expressed it, 'Intellect and industry are never incompatible. There is more wisdom, and will be more benefit, in combining them, than scholars like to believe, or than the common world imagine. Life has time enough for both, and its happiness will be increased by the union.'

"The argument in hand may be briefly summed up; for, though the writings, marble columns, and other public memorials of early ages, have suffered terrible ravages, many of the mutilations are supplied, and all former details illustrated, by the monies which have escaped barbarism. In numerous instances, these diminutive but infallible vouchers have outlived the states that struck them; and many are the once-powerful cities, the emblems of which still appear in cabinets, that have long passed away—*ipsæ periere ruinæ!*

"Dr. Lee's extensive numismatic treasures are arranged in six cabinets, two of which are filled with Greek coins and Greek-Imperial, relating to places visited by him during his travels in Spain, Italy, Sicily, Malta, Greece, the Ionian islands, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and the Greek islands. Many of these are extremely rare, as well as beautiful in design and execution; and all of them of such interest, that a published *catalogue raisonnée* of them would be a welcome boon to literature. There are excellent specimens of the Sicilian mints, and that of Athens; some fine tetradrachms of the kings of Tyria, fair coins of the Arsacidæ, and the large concave, and other gold coins of the Constantinopolitan emperors.

"Those of Tyre and Berytus are in excellent condition; and the Greek-Imperial of Heliopolis, and other towns, having on them representations of temples and other buildings, are very valuable for their reverses. In alluding to the east, I ought not to omit to mention a well-preserved silver Jewish shekel, even though I consider it to have been struck at a period much later than has been argued for it by *Polyglot* Walton, Prideaux, and others, who have advanced assumption instead of proof. Looking, as I do, upon the shekels of early Scripture to indicate only a denomination of weight, and entertaining strong doubts as to any knowledge of the art of coining being possessed by the early Jews, it

cannot have been struck, I think, before the time of the Seleucidæ.[1] The Hartwell specimen bears its name and denomination in Samaritan characters: on one side appears a branch with three buds, considered to represent the flowering of Aaron's staff; but by others, held to be the hyoscyamus, or reticulated Egyptian henbane, which Josephus mentions as having ornamented Aaron's head-dress; the opposite face bears a gomor, censer, or sacrificial cup. The legend over the flower expresses, as I am given to understand, *Jerusalem the Holy;* and that around the censer, *half of the shekel of Israel, year* 2. The reading, however, of another friend, makes the latter—*half for the use of the sanctuary.* To clear up so knotty a point, I here give an impression from the coin itself.

"Among the Greek coins will be found samples of the united genius and taste for which the Hellenians were unrivalled; for their skill in symbolical representations, poetical imagery, exquisite finish, and spirited expression, cannot be surpassed. I must here, however, allude only to the principal object of their being brought together, namely, for geographical reference. Other sciences have also shared the collector's attention, though in a less degree; and there is a long series in illustration of astronomy, both ancient and modern, among which the celebrated zodiacal rupees must not be forgotten" (p. 147).

The historical series is no less worthy of attention, including the Roman large brass series, of which so admirable an account was given by captain Smyth, in his Descriptive Catalogue, printed at Bedford in 1834. Six hundred of these were derived from captain Smyth's collection, and the series, by successive additions, now amounts to nearly one thousand:—

"The array commences with Julius Cæsar, the head and front of the empire, and terminates with Gallienus, whose family closed it; as the reigns after the advent of what are conventionally termed the Thirty Tyrants—there were seventeen of them—constitutes the Lower Empire of historians: and, singularly enough, at the end of the earlier emperors,

[1] There are many shekels with square Hebrew letters, but they are all modern forgeries; a knowledge of which has led to the undiscriminating opinion that the Samaritan shekels are also spurious. It must have been under such an impression that the self-satisfied Pinkerton pronounces "the admission of but one of them is rightly esteemed to be almost a disgrace to a cabinet."

the legitimate large brass coinage also concludes. The period therefore embraced, is from B.C. 43 to A.D. 268, or three hundred and eleven years, a brief but wonderfully important space in the world's history. It is replete with the sort of moral vicissitudes which mankind then underwent; many of which are traceable on the medals before us. By these hackneyed, yet faithful chroniclers, assigned to their proper date and circumstance, we can ascertain, with an unquestionable certainty, many of the deeds of each of the sovereigns, their titles, accessions, progresses, victories, triumphs, largesses, deaths, and apotheoses; while their portraits are stamped with strong inferential testimony of being authentic likenesses" (p. 149).

But one of the most remarkable features of Dr. Lee's collections is to be found in his assemblage of Egyptian antiquities, in which may be seen some of the finest specimens in this country.

The notices of the *Ædes Hartwellianæ* in this *Journal* are necessarily confined to the antiquarian department; but the work itself will not fail to interest the general reader in relation to other subjects. The history of the Hartwell Observatory, the description of the Transit room, and the Equatorial tower, cannot but excite attention; whilst the astronomer will be no less gratified by the meridianal observations of Mr. Epps, the account of double stars measured by captain Smyth, the colours of the same; and, above all, by the story of that remarkable binary star, γ Virginis, and the appearance of Encke's comet, as observed at Hartwell.

T. J. P.

Descriptive Index of the Contents of Five Manuscript Volumes illustrative of the History of Great Britain; in the Library of Dawson Turner, esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., etc., etc. Great Yarmouth. 1851. 8vo.

This privately-printed volume, of which only fifty copies have been taken off, will prove of much value to the inquiring historian. It refers to a portion of the extraordinary collection of manuscripts so judiciously brought together by our learned and esteemed associate. Its value is much enhanced by a copious index, not only referring to the writers of the letters, but also to those persons whose characters or whose actions form the subject of contents.

The letters are arranged under the heads of: 1, Royal and noble letters, which embraces one hundred and twenty-nine articles; 2, Martyrs' and reformers' letters, being fifty-two in number; 3, Scotch letters, constituting an abstract of the contents of two volumes of letters principally

addressed to Mary, queen of Scots, and to James V and VI of that kingdom, amounting to one hundred and seventy-nine letters. All these are briefly yet adequately described, giving a short notice of the subject-matter of each, with references also to the individuals connected with them. The first portion embraces letters of the time of Henry IV, with the sign manual. An original order of council for bringing up Margery Jourdemain, the witch of Eye, who was burnt in Smithfield in the reign of Henry VI; and this document shows that she had been subjected to a criminal charge at a much earlier period than has been noticed by historians. This curious document bears the signature of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury; John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells, chancellor; Richard, duke of York; W. Lyndewood, the author of the *Provinciale;* W. Philip, and — Scrop. In the reign of Edward IV there is a bill of privy seal relating to a peace or truce between England and Francis duke of Brittany, against Louis, usurping the kingdom and crown of France. A document signed by Henry de Richemont (Henry VII), acknowledging the loan of 10,000 crowns of gold, probably from Francis duke of Brittany, and which he promises, "on the word of a prince", to repay, and for the security whereof, he and Jasper the earl of Pembroke, whose signature is also affixed, hypothecate all their present and future property. The date of this instrument is October 29, 1483. Interesting letters from this division might readily be multiplied; but we must content ourselves with noticing one of Henry VIII to cardinal Wolsey,—a holograph letter, commencing, "Myne owne good cardinale', and highly curious for the matter it contains. The king states that, although "wrytting is to him somewhat tedious and paynefull", and therefore commonly superseded by verbal communication through an intermediate person, yet, in the present instance, having matter to impart to which none must be privy but his prime minister and himself, he takes the pen into his own hand. He then charges the cardinal "to make good wache upon the duke of Suffolke, the duke of Buckyngham, my lord of Northumberland, my lord of Darby, my lord of Wylshire, and others which you thinke suspecte." "The date of this letter," it is remarked, "was probably at a short time before 1521, when the duke of Buckingham was put to death, principally to satisfy a private animosity on the part of Wolsey." (p. 11.)

These instances will afford examples of the value of this catalogue; and if the collectors of manuscripts would follow the excellent example of Mr. Turner, they would greatly aid historical researches by pointing out the sources whence true and particular information may be obtained.

P.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

By Subscription.—Bibliotheca Derbiensis; or, Notices of the Printed Books, Tracts, Garlands, Broadsheets, and Ballad Literature, of the County of Derby. By Llewellynn Jewitt. The work will contain notices of several hundred printed books, etc., from the earliest period to the present time, relating to the topography, antiquities, ecclesiastical, political and family history, biography, natural history, customs, superstitions, and legends, of the county of Derby; many of which are of extreme rarity, and others unique, and are preserved in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and other public libraries, as well as in private collections. Some of the more rare and interesting tracts and broadsheets will be reprinted entire, whilst from others extensive extracts will be given, and the work will be illustrated by several fac-simile engravings. The whole will be so arranged as to form a valuable addition to the local history of the county, and will be found particularly useful to those of the Archæological Association who made collections at the late Congress. The work will be in 4to., and published to subscribers at half-a-guinea the volume, and to non-subscribers at fifteen shillings. A few copies will be printed on large paper—price to subscribers, one guinea.

Remains of Pagan Saxondom, principally from Tumuli in England. Drawn from the originals. Described and illustrated by John Yonge Akerman (Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London). The engravings or lithographs will, if possible, in every case, be of the actual size of the objects represented. The first number will appear as soon as the names of two hundred subscribers have been received. In numbers, at three shillings each (to subscribers, half-a-crown). The well-known accuracy of Mr. Akerman will, we trust, insure to him sufficient patronage to carry out his intention, and we strongly recommend his work to our archæological friends. The names of subscribers may be sent either to the author, or Mr. J. Russell Smith, the publisher, 36, Soho Square.

By Subscription, in 4to. (about eighty plates), price four guineas.—The Brasses of Northamptonshire. Reduced to scale from the "rubbings" in possession of the author, and engraved in tinted lithography and bronze so as to be fac-similes of the originals. By Franklin Hudson, Esq., the Willows, Braunston, Daventry. Northamptonshire is peculiarly rich in brasses, and they are generally in fine preservation. To arrange brasses into counties, is particularly useful in illustration of local history. Mr. Hudson has, from the specimens we have seen, been faithful to his originals, and we trust the work will receive the patronage it appears to merit. We avail ourselves of this opportunity, to express a regret we feel in common with all antiquaries, that the great work of the Messrs. Waller still remains incomplete. One number only, we believe, is required to perfect this invaluable collection; and we hope that no longer delay than is unavoidable will be allowed to take place ere it be concluded, when we shall draw the attention of the Association to its contents.

Reliquiæ Isurianæ: Remains of the Roman Isurium. Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith, well known to Roman antiquaries by his lithographic prints of tessellated pavements, proposes to publish by subscription (price 15s.), a volume in 4to., of the interesting remains at Aldborough, in Yorkshire. Application may be made to Mr. Smith, 20, Old Bond Street.

Lincoln Minster. Mr. T. Willson, architect, and Mr. E. J. Willson, of Lincoln, propose to publish "Illustrations of the Choir of Lincoln Minster". It is to consist of twelve folio lithographic plates; and to subscribers the price will be One guinea. Names of subscribers may be sent to Mr. Bell, Fleet Street; or Messrs. Brooke, Lincoln.

Mr. Wm. Bowman, of Belgrave House, Wade Lane, Leeds, has just put forth the first part of a work in 4to., entitled, "Reliquiæ Antiquæ Eboracenses", or Relics of Antiquity relating to the County of York. It is illustrated by plates and wood-cuts, and is intended to be continued every three months; price, 2s. 6d. each part. From the specimen before us, the work appears highly deserving of encouragement, not only by the archæologists of the county to which it especially relates, but by antiquaries in general. An interesting paper on the sepulchral antiquities of various ancient nations, illustrative of the custom of tumular interment, as practised by the primeval inhabitants of Britain, from the pen of Thomas Bateman, Esq., forms a very appropriate introduction, and is a sufficient guarantee for the excellence of the publication. The antiquities rendered in this part are very faithfully drawn.

We take this opportunity of stating, that Mr. Bowman has just published a view of the interior of the museum of Thomas Bateman, Esq., at Yolgrave, which was visited by the members of the Association at the late Congress. It is exceedingly well executed in tinted lithography (price 2s. 6d.), and will, no doubt, enrich the portfolio of many of our associates.

A portrait of the late Rev. Stephen Isaacson, M.A., taken from a Daguerreotype, is about to be published, for the benefit of the widow, by Stephen Isaacson Tucker, Esq., of 4, Birchin Lane, Cornhill. It will be a lithograph, in folio, on India paper, 10s. each. The plate is intended to be private; and we have no doubt many of our members will be glad to possess a faithful resemblance of their late esteemed and learned associate.

ERRATA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 54, line 3, for "Edward III", read "Edward I".

— 70, The tile here represented is from the library of Winchester cathedral, not Wellow church, as stated.

— 73, line 11, for "legs erased; *gules*", read "legs erased *gules*;"

— 82, line 13, for "mail", read "snail".

— 111, line 5, for "commandery", read "commanding".

— 164, line 32, for "far inferior", read "far superior".

— 165, line 17, for "first", read "finest".

— *ib.*, line 22, "Unique". This is to be understood as applying not to the brass itself, but to the inscription.

— 245, line 36, for "chambers", read "churches".

— 246, line 10, The Sardinian proverb, "Portant a carrus sa perda de Tarrus", is erroneously translated; as "carrus" is simply the vehicle, or part of the vehicle, employed to carry off the stones from Tharros, and not a city, as there stated. Mr. Pettigrew is desirous the reader should correct this.

— 253, line 9, for "Cara", read "Cima".

— *ib.*, line 17, for "Nirra", read "Nora".

— 278, line 16, for "Inr", read "Iur" (Jurator).

— 345, line 41, for "Rolu", read "Köln".

— 374, line 26, for "Borthley", read "Boothby".

— 383, line 8, for "Marron", read "Marrow".

Plate xvi. Monumental slabs etched by Mr. Burkitt. On comparing these with one subsequently executed by Mr. E. B. Price, it will be found that there is a difference in the form and general proportions, as well as an inaccuracy in the inscription of one commencing at the lower end, instead of the upper. This error possibly arose from the peculiarly inconvenient position of the stones, one of which is in a small crowded tool-house, and the other against the wall of the churchyard, immediately under a weather-board, the dripping from which is slowly but surely erasing the inscription. The letters, as well as the leg forming the rebus of Bernart de Jambe, it has been noticed by Mr. Price, were formerly inlaid with brass.

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